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Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-95-227 *27 November 1995*

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Key Developments

Yeltsin Unhappy About Media Presentation of Candidates

LD2411151395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1422 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 24 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin commented today at the Central Clinical Hospital on the beginning of the "most crucial period" of the election campaign to the State Duma — the preelection campaigning of candidates from the 43 registered blocs. The president's press service reported this to ITAR-TASS today.

The head of state expressed his disappointment with regard to how this campaigning is now being conducted on television and radio and in the press. According to the president, many of the candidates' speeches have been motivated by a desire to ingratiate themselves at any price, therefore it is "not very nice to watch" them. "Many promises are being made without knowledge of the question or knowledge of the circumstances," and the rivals are "literally inciting" and rubbishing one another, afraid to enter into a debate. Most of them prefer the option of a monologue. At the same time, "each of them is promising an earthly paradise to the Russian people literally the day after he is elected to the State Duma."

As the Russian president said, such tactics in the preelection struggle intimidate the electorate, who cannot decide who to vote for, because "they are all promising the same thing." However, as Boris Yeltsin noted, "according to the law we cannot, of course, interfere or correct anything, and we will not do so."

Reportage on Television, Radio Campaign Coverage

Yavlinskiy, Zyuganov Hold Debate

LD2411224295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1725 GMT on 24 November, broadcasts the 10-minute "Details" program, which contains several excerpts of a two-hour political debate between Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yabloko electoral bloc No. 19, and Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation No. 25. The debate took place at the invitation of the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY newspaper.

Yavlinskiy touches upon the Communist Party's program: "When I see the words 'Communism is the future of the mankind' stated as the party's objective in the Communist Party's program, I have only one feeling: This is a very aggressive approach in general and, as a matter of fact, in principle."

He continues: "Admittedly, there are two major additions that were not contained in the communist documents of the past. The first is that the Russian idea corresponds to socialism, i.e. that the Russian idea and socialism are the same thing, and hence I would like very much to understand what it means, the Russian idea, especially when it is described as the same thing as socialism?

"Finally, one more thing that is of particular interest: The program clearly states the national liberation struggle of the Russian people."

Zyuganov replies: "I would like to thank you for a direct and open question — this does not happen often. As far as communism is concerned, translated into Russian [from French] it means common. From time immemorial, common and collective interests, the interests of the assembly were given preference to all other interests.

"As for the Russian idea, it has two foundations. Above all, the Russian idea advocates cultural and moral values in life. It does not recognize a state's self-sufficiency if it lacks cultural values. The state is there to protect, to help and, at the same time, to support and be a benefactor rather than be a severe father. And small peoples are perfectly aware of the fact that, unless the cultural and moral state of the Russian people is improved, nobody will survive on these vast spaces by oneself.

"The Caucasus is now going through the experience of learning this sad lesson. It has been pushed by some well-wishers who were agitating for going separate ways, for seceding from the Soviet Union in order to be better off. All of them are much worse off now; unfortunately, they were lured by that essentially provocative idea.

"Finally, the people's liberation struggle, the national liberation struggle. The country is essentially dragging out a half-colonial existence at present. Strictly speaking, the people have been divided, there are no links between people. In reality, a new, economic serfdom has been introduced. This is what we mean here: To dispose of an invasion that has proved to be much worse than the invasions of Khan Batyy [Mongol-Tatar ruler of 13th century), Napoleon, or Hitler taken together." Yavlinskiy says: "During the voting on the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreements in 1991, the Communist Party voted in their favor. Only a few people voted against them then; moreover, they were not members of the Communist Party. All the members of the Communist Party in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian

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Federation voted in favor of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreements. You are know this perfectly well."

Zyuganov replies: "You are right. You are right, many members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Supreme Soviet were fooled. They were carried away by the idea of nonexistent sovereignty. They voted in favor of Russian sovereignty as being more important than the sovereignty of the USSR. This was an absolutely illiterate decision, followed by the country's collapse. They also voted for the presidency, which imposed on Russia an absolutely alien state and administrative structure. They even voted to give Boris Yeltsin additional powers and, taking advantage of these, he appointed all those who had never been in charge of a team of two or three people, he gave away economy in their ownership, and now they are squandering it left, right, and center. You are right, many members of the CPSU voted in favor of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreements; many of them lacked courage to realize how all that would end up."

Derzhava, Common Cause Hold Debate

LD2111174595 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1605 GMT 20 Nov 95

[Studio debate between Irina Khakamada, leader of the Common Cause movement, and Aleksandr Rutskoy, leader of the Derzhava movement; moderated by Aleksandr Lyubimov with unidentified correspondent; from the "One on One" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Good evening, dear voters. Today, 20 November, we will once again try to hold television debates. There are 26 days left to the elections. Today we welcome real politicians who are not afraid of going live. Aleksandr Lyubimov conducts the debates.

[Lyubimov, seated on raised platform between Rutskoy and Khakamada, who stand at lecterns opposite each other; a video screen above Lyubimov alternately shows close-ups of the debaters] I am glad to welcome you all. Our candidates promise us all one-bedroom apartments in their electoral promises. By my calculation prices are going to fall to a third of what they were, wages will double, there will be no crime at all. In a word, we are being promised so much that sometimes it is even scary!

Well, it isn't everyone who agrees to go live in our studio. We have two courageous people, two courageous politicians here in our studio today who are not afraid to mix with their voters live on air, one to one. That is our first surprise. The second surprise is that one of these courageous people is a woman. [applause]

[Correspondent] Are you not exhausted by the role of politician?

[Khakamada] On the contrary, I find it a tonic.

[Correspondent] But what if, God forbid, you lose. What will you do in the future?

[Khakamada] I think I will be vice president of Russia. [applause]

[Lyubimov] On our program today we have Aleksandr Rutskoy [applause]

[Rutskoy] Thank you.

[Correspondent] Good evening, Aleksandr Vladimirovich. You require no introduction. You are a famous person. When a soldier goes into battle he is always confident of victory, moreover if he is a general. Are you confident?

[Rutskoy] Yes, of course. If I wasn't confident, I would not do this.

[Correspondent] If you do not get into the [State] Duma, will you stand for president?

[Rutskoy] Yes, of course. If a person has a goal, especially if they are a general, then they won't divert from their combat course.

[Correspondent] Well, then. Political take-offs are like air force take-offs: The important thing is to have the number of take-offs equal to the number of soft landings. Will you be successful?

[Rutskoy] I hope so. [applause]

[Lyubimov] I would like once again to thank those taking part in our debates today. If there were four of them we would have twice the air time, but, nonetheless, stay with us.

First question to Irina Mutsuovna [Khakamada]. To go back to October 1993 — did we need to defend the Constitution the way Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy] did?

[Khakamada] I think that the soldier who does not want to become a general is a bad soldier, but the general who dreams of becoming president is a bad general. If Aleksandr Vladimirovich hadn't dreamed of being president, then it is my impression that there would not have been shooting back then in 1993.

[Lyubimov] Well, could the bloodshed back then have been avoided?

[Rutskoy] I will say this: It was not a general dreaming of becoming president who arranged that political

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escapade. First of all, it was not, again, a general dreaming of becoming president who signed an anti-law [antizakonnyy] decree, which was declared anti-law by not just anyone, but by the country's supreme legislative body. Also, it was not a general dreaming of becoming president who opened fire on a crowd that hadn't even catapults to defend themselves with. So, this is a long story and I think that everything will fall into place in the very near future. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] The Central Electoral Commission has revealed that a whole number of movements including yours contain people with a criminal past. How do you plan to fight crime? Wedge for wedge?

[Rutskoy] Eh, no. You know, there are more people with a criminal past in today's government and presidential administration. Not just a past but a present.

[Lyubimov] Well, it seems that the Interior Ministry has begun to fight this. There have been a few generals...

[Rutskoy, interrupting] It has begun, yes — they should have created proper bodies of power where such things would have been avoided. As for those people who got onto the lists after being tried for one or another fault, then they have, so to speak, discarded their fault, their status of accused, you see. I will put it like this: I am behind every person who plans to do everything to mend this humiliating situation. [passage omitted]

[Khakamada] If we are to talk about crime as a whole, then it is my dream — and I fear that nothing will come of it unless I have the backing of these tough generals — that each Interior Ministry director at district level should be elected and should answer to his electorate for the extent to which he is able to protect them.

[Lyubimov] Does she have your backing, Aleksandr Vladimirovich?

[Rutskoy] Oh, come now — this is just ridiculous. Maybe army commanders should also be elected? In that case it is anyone's guess where we will end up.

[Khakamada] No, that is the normal status of the sheriff. It has been around for a long time and has worked fine.

[Rutskoy] I will tell you this. We just need to restore elementary order and fight against that criminal power that has criminalized society instead of fighting against our own people. It was not for nothing that I said this morning that a fish should be cleaned starting with the head and not the tail.

[Khakamada] So who will do the cleaning?

[Rutskoy] I will.

[Khakamada] But you are going to be a representative of power. So that means that you are going to clean yourself.

[Rutskoy] I will say this: If we want our country and our people to prosper, then it is not legislation that we need to work on — we do not need to waste our time over nonsense [duryu mayatsya], if you will pardon my words. We need to demand and ensure that the law is carried out because the law is the force that provides society with security and the country with order. There is no other. We are today at the stage when it is time to stop playing with buttons. [sentence as heard] We need to ask: Where did the gold reserves go? Where is the oil going? Where is the gas going? Where are the country's diamond reserves? How have they squandered the whole country, starting with those in power. Because we are not going to have anything to lower taxes with or provide for welfare with. [passage omitted: Khakamada accuses Rutskoy, a candidate, of wanting to dissolve the Duma and create a police state]

I did not say that. Look here. Parliament is the representative body of power that represents the interests of the people...

[Khakamada] But it isn't a procuracy.

[Rutskoy] Yes, but it is not a show or a political farce where just about the only thing we have not had is someone being raped live on television.

[Khakamada] It is not a comedy for Zhirinovskiy. [applause]

[Rutskoy] We need to get to work. The laws have cooked up such a pile of pancakes that have been stale now for a long time. We need to make the law work and make sure that the authorities, parliament included, are subject to the law.

[Khakamada] So we need to make sure that the law is carried out. For that the new Duma needs to pass another law, which will not be carried out either.

[Rutskoy] Come now...

[Khakamada, interrupting] Because the law is never carried out in the Duma [applause]

[Rutskoy] Come now. I have already told you that the first priority of the representative body of power should not be to debate [deputies'] salaries or decide on apartments — otherwise everyone gets an apartment and a lovely salary and sits there pressing buttons, playing at consensus. You know, we have had enough. Enough. Right from day one we need to invite in the head of that rotten fish and ask what they are doing to the country,

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the people, the defense potential, the economy. Where is the people's property going in the guise of privatization?

[Khakamada] I understand. I understand everything. You want me to answer for the whole Duma. Okay — then I will ask you as the former vice president: You were in power for three years and you did nothing [applause] and under our Constitution the president has every authority and the vice president had enormous power. Nothing was done.

[Rutskoy] Irina, with regard to the enormous power, I advise you to find the old Constitution and look at the rights and powers of the vice president. They are set out in one line: carries out the commissions of the president. Nothing more! No other rights...

[Khakamada, interrupting] Did you carry out the president's commissions? You had two commissions: The fight against crime and agricultural reform. Did you execute those two commissions?

[Rutskoy] Yes, I carried them out. [passage omitted: Challenged by Khakamada to back up his words, Rutskoy says that under his vice presidency new food processing and packaging technology was designed and it is the present leadership's fault that series production has not followed]

As for the fight against crime and corruption, in my opinion I was the first in the history of our Soviet Union to call things by their names and show the whole people who was cleaning the country out. Dozens of criminal cases are lying untouched at the office of public prosecutions.

[Khakamada] None of that has any affect on the problems of the ordinary, simple person.

[Lyubimov] I am being very timid today. I am afraid of violating the rule of the Central Electoral Commission on giving you your full air time. Nonetheless, if you do not mind me bringing the audience into our discussion then stay with us.

[Lyubimov, to audience] We have a few minutes left. Let us have your questions, please.

[Woman in audience] I have a question for Aleksandr Vladimirovich. At a speech you made in Nizhniy Novgorod, you proposed holding public executions. Who did you expect to turn out to watch?

[Rutskoy] You know, somehow I cannot recall proposing public executions. Perhaps you mean Mr. Yeltsin? Do you remember when he was talking about how crime should be tackled?

[Lyubimov] We have only a few minutes left. Speak into the microphone, please.

[Rutskoy] It does not feel right speaking to a woman with your back turned to her.

[Lyubimov] Well, it is like that here. It is like being a driver.

[Rutskoy] Yes, I am against public executions of any kind. I think that amenability should be strictly in accordance with the law. The amenability should fit the law. What you are talking about belongs to the realms of fantasy.

[Lyubimov] Another question please.

[Young man in audience] I have a question for Mr. Rutskoy. Aleksandr Vladimirovich, in 1993 you personally sent out people to shed blood. Tell us, was the old Constitution really worth the destruction of human lives? [applause] Thank you.

[Rutskoy] You know, people were there not because of the old Constitution, which was not worth human lives. The people who were there, and they included students, were defending the right to be individuals instead of cattle, collective members of a herd. If you are satisfied with what is happening in our society today, in literally every walk of life, then we have nothing in common. It was students like you who fought for the honor and dignity of their motherland and not some theoretical document.

[Lyubimov] Thank you for the answer. A question for Mrs. Khakamada.

[Dmitriy Vasiliyev, leader of the Pamyat National Patriotic Front, sitting among uniformed Cossacks in the audience] Unfortunately, I have a question for Aleksandr Vladimirovich.

[Lyubimov] We have the Pamyat society here tonight.

[Vasiliyev] Yes, the Pamyat society.

[Lyubimov] It has been a long time since we saw you on the political horizon.

[Vasiliyev] Oh, well. On the contrary, we are grateful for the attention. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] A question for Irina Khakamada, if possible.

[Man in audience] I have a question for Irina Khakamada. Of which Masonic lodge are you a member? [laughter]

[Khakamada] My father was a Japanese communist. He emigrated to Russia. He died in Russia. He had Soviet citizenship. On my mother's side, I am Russian and I completely fail to understand how your question relates

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to the fact that I live here and consider myself a Russian. [applause]

[Man in audience] If you were vice president Irina, could you be Aleksandr Vladimirovich's vice president?

[Khakamada] Yes, of course. I am certain, I am simply certain that only when Russia has a hard man of force and vigor as president and an enlightened women who will care for the family and children as vice president will we achieve proper harmony [applause]

[Lyubimov] Thank you. Another question please.

[Man in audience] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, returning to 1993 again. Do you not think that both you and the president have people's blood on you?

[Rutskoy] I have already answered. Certainly, I accept responsibility. It was truly my tragedy and not only mine, but a tragedy for the whole people, so I do accept responsibility. But if you think that I am having a gay old time of it today and that I never dream about what happened then you are profoundly mistaken. Of course, it was highly regrettable that it all finished that way but there is a Russian proverb: If you knew where you would fall you would put straw there." But for some reason we more often than not fall without knowing where we are meant to fall and therefore we don't put straw down. That is how life is arranged. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] Thank you for the answer and the last question now if possible.

[Vasiliyev] I would like to stay with your program, Aleksandr Vladimirovich. You were responsible for agricultural production here and in one of your speeches after visiting Israel you said that you would restore agriculture on the Israeli kibbutz model, although we know that war communism is the rule over there, so to speak, and they have nothing new or attractive to offer us. An agricultural program does not consist of manufacturing reliable machines or processing technology alone — in the first place, it relates to the law on land. What is your involvement?

[Lyubimov] Try to make the answer brief as we are running out of time.

[Rutskoy] I understand that the theme of Israel is a very painful one for you. But I can tell you that I went there on an official visit that concerned Palestinian issues. As for kibbutz and the mortgaging of the lands of the [River] Don, I heard rumors of that sort when I was in the Kuban recently. It is blather. It is mare-strength [siloy kobyly] blather, to put it like that. [passage omitted]

Mikhalkov Presents NDR Broadcast

LD2311231595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1540 GMT on 23 November broadcasts the seven-minute "Elections '95" program in which the Russia Is Our Home [NDR] election broadcast is presented by Nikita Mikhalkov, a well-known Russian film director.

The program begins with the bloc's logo — a triangle in Russian state colors shaped like a roof over a rectangle formed by the words "Russia Is Our Home." Under the logo, which appears against the background of the Russia's tricolor, there are words in smaller print: "On a firm foundation of responsibility and experience."

The song accompanying the screen image says: "If your home is dear to you, let's go forward together."

Mikhalkov speaks to the camera, uncaptioned, which probably implies he needs no introduction to the Russian viewers.

Mikhalkov begins: "Good evening, dear viewers. Here is yet another talking head on your television screens. You know, I am looking at what is happening during our election campaign and notice, to my astonishment, that the only thing history teaches us is that it teaches us nothing. Because nearly everyone who is aiming for power bases its policy on the word 'no' — 'I am against', 'I hate'. There are accusations and insults, direct and indirect, and I think the main thing is just not there. I mean, there are many promises. But I personally do not feel here that fundamental, sincere, honest, and responsible approach toward the present and the future of our country. Everyone appears to be filmed in some huge libraries — and I am not sure any book has been taken from these shelves since the filming. Everyone is writing a book — although I am not sure these people have read more than they have written. Nevertheless, I am always aware that behind all this there is the intention that I might define by the word 'instead' [vmesto]: 'us instead of them, us instead of the other ones'.

"Russia Is Our Home is in a different position. We offer the word 'together' [vmeste], not 'instead'. Please note that neither of us has ever insulted anyone, called people names with the intention of humiliating them, tried to prove a person's insignificance. We are talking only about one thing: That today only stability and peace can help our Fatherland. 'Vacillation of minds not sure of anything' — this is how the Russian writer and Decembrist Aleksandr Griboyedov described it in his time. Today we experience the same thing. In 1917 the Bolsheviks told us to forget all that we had before 1917.

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In 1990's, other Bolsheviks — or whatever they call themselves, democrats or something else — tell us we have to forget what we had since 1917. Behind all this there is one main thing: Godlessness, that is, wanting to have everything and at once. It does not matter in the least what your children or grandchildren will think of you in 10, 15, or 20 years' time.

"The program proposed today by Russia Is Our Home may certainly be criticized. It is very simple today to blame the government for what it has not done. This is not difficult. But only those who do nothing make no mistakes. Yes, I myself am not ecstatic about what is going on in the country. And you probably know that my position was always rather firm and specific. But today I do not see another way out. I cannot believe those on the left, just as I cannot believe those on the right. Both call for restructuring, both call for punishment. Yes, our pensioners and old people have been hit the hardest. The children, the army — they undoubtedly need state support; and this will come. But it is impossible to demand that everything should come at once. I see the efforts being made by the prime minister. Yes, he is not as eloquent as many of those who talk to you from the television screen. This is because he thinks before he says anything. He weighs up everything he promises. And I do not think he promises what he cannot do, and what he promises he tries to accomplish.

"I repeat, I am not at all canvassing for your votes. I simply want you to understand that today the future of the country does indeed depend on each and every one of your votes. Ten years ago I used to get an exemption note and simply went with my friends to the countryside. It was all the same to me then what the result of the elections is. Because I knew for sure that 99.9 percent would unanimously vote for 'the people's choice'.

Today we are in a different situation. Today we ought to understand that those who do not turn up at the polling station, who do not cast their votes, are taking a risk. Their vote can go to people who do not want our country to become a strong, mighty, luxurious, and respectable power. I think do not think we have to tell you who you have to vote for. I only want to warn you: Do we want to find ourselves at the crossroads again in a five years' time, when we will have to chose not just the people to lead our country forward, but a new system? Do we want to find ourselves again on the brink of a change of the system? I do not think we can live through this. This is why, I repeat, I am not canvassing for your votes, I am not saying unpleasant things about anyone. I just wanted to say that if you believe my words are not at odds with my actions, if you believe that during all those years of my work in the cinema I was filming not for the CPSU and not for the government, but because I felt I had to film it, that I do have my devoted viewers — and I am talking to my viewers now — if you believe me, do a sensible thing. Follow those whom you believe. I personally urge you to do so. Thank you."

Rutskoy Presents Derzhava Movement

LD2411220495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1540 GMT 24 Nov 95

[Election broadcast by Aleksandr Rutskoy, leader of the Russian Derzhava social-patriotic movement, in Moscow; date not given; from the "Elections '95" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [video shows screen caption "Faith and Hope of the Strong Power (Derzhava)" on a dark screen. This fades to a video of Rutskoy in church, taking part in christening of a child. Rutskoy's words behind the screen: "Fedor Ilyin, great Russian philosopher, said beautifully about it: A man can do whatever he likes with faith. He can betray it or manipulate it. The only thing he cannot do is to live without faith."]

[Rutskoy] Our people and our country have been living without faith for practically 10 years. From 1985, the beginning of perestroyka, and to this day we have been sliding down further and further and have almost reached the bottom now. But the bottom is not firm, it is a quagmire. So the people today do not need promises, they need clear explanations on what is to be done in this situation. And we should do the main thing. The country is in a state of political, economic, and legal anarchy. This is the main reason for the political and economic crisis, a crisis of humanity, if you like. Therefore, those who want to be chosen by the people today should not promise people that they will be creating laws — who on earth has invented this law-creating [zakonotvorchestvo]! Let others do their creative work. The representatives of the people, the representational power should protect the interests of the people and not be engaged in the law-creating. The legislation that we have already today should be put to work, so that we have a mechanism of responsibility, to make sure the laws are observed. Therefore, the new parliament, the new State Duma should start putting things in order, to sort out what goes where.

Look at our colossal resources going abroad for practically no returns. The so-called market is a wild market that nobody understands and that does not follow the elementary logic of our life. I am deeply convinced that if the public supports the Derzhava social-patriotic movement, especially, if I and my colleagues who are running for the State Duma along with me are given a chance to get an absolute majority in the parliament, please rest

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assured I will bring about order. I will bring about order in the economy, in national policy, and in matters pertaining to state organization. It is time we start living, not in some distant future, but today and tomorrow. So that each person can see the prospects and know his individual rights. He should feel he is protected by the state. Only this can give us prospects. There is simply no other way. [video shows mug shots and photographs of Rutskoy during his military career. There is also archive video footage of him walking side-by-side with Yeltsin as vice president and emerging from Lefortovo prison where he was detained in 1993. Voice behind the screen highlights Rutskoy's military and political career]

[Rutskoy, continuing] Those who are interested in the program of our Derzhava social-patriotic movement can find it in two editions of the sociopolitical newspaper DERZHAVA, which is being distributed throughout the country. [shows the newspaper to viewers] Each of you will find yourself in our program, called: From Destruction Toward Creation. Our approaches toward various problems, including how to get the country out of the dead-end and crisis, are outlined in this program in detail. You have to appreciate the time limit here is such that I cannot describe all of this in detail today. Those who want to understand our theses can study them from this publication.

We are also publishing a book now, the second part of our earlier book, Finding the Faith, which dealt with the ideology of the state policy and society proposed by Derzhava social-patriotic movement. [shows the books] The second part of the book, a larger one, deals with questions of economy and state organization. This book will also be distributed throughout Russia.

Believe me, a large team of academics worked on these programs. Back during the time when I was vice president, I set up an analytical center that had, among others, 72 doctors of economic science. Our program consists of 18 volumes. Why is it so huge? Because we have built up not just the model of the new economic relations itself, but each economic sector has been thoroughly researched and formulated. We have mathematical calculations that prove our chosen direction correct. Apart from this, a package of laws has been drawn up to suit our economic program. Among them are the law on banks and banking activities; the law on financial and industrial groups; the law on enterprise; the law on labor relations; the law on taxation; on investment, and so on. We need a completely new approach to implement the economic program that we propose. This economic program will enable us to build a society of social justice, a society of true socialism, if you like.

I urge you to support our candidates for the State Duma, who are running in the single-mandate districts and the whole of Derzhava social-patriotic movement, which is coming to the elections on the federal lists. Our number on the ballot paper is two, I repeat, two. [video footage of Rutskoy at the christening with the earlier quote from philosopher Ilyin read by a voice behind the screen. The voice adds: "Today we are facing the choice. Do we have enough faith?" The broadcast ends with a slogan on the screen: "Faith and Hope of the Great Power"]

Gromov, Asserkitov on My Fatherland

LD2311172395 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We continue to familiarize our listeners with the parties and movements taking part in the elections to the Russian State Duma and with the people representing them.

Colonel General Boris Gromov, leader of My Fatherland electoral association and Stanislav Asserkitov, one of the association's organizers and a prominent economist, will face Mayak's microphones for the next half an hour. Tatyana Yeremina, our correspondent, will be talking to them. [passage omitted]

[Gromov] We entered politics because we see that the country is going in the wrong direction or, to be more precise, the country is being led in the wrong direction. We see people's poverty, their humiliation. It is our country and our people and given the current situation we do not consider it possible for ourselves to just stand to one side, all the more so because we know how to change the situation for the better and we know this very precisely and very firmly. We have experience and knowledge. [passage omitted]

Studies by the Reform Fund, grouping the country's leading scientists, whose surnames I already had cause to mention today, form the basis of My Fatherland's political and economic program. This fund has now for four years been analyzing everything that has been happening in Russia. We have perfectly tangible plans and perfectly tangible actions, so to speak, concerning every detail and aspect of both domestic and foreign policies. [passage omitted]

[Asserkitov] The basis for our rebirth presupposes a certain level of state protection and support for domestic producers. Small producers, private entrepreneurs, must be given an opportunity of standing on their own feet, as it were, so that they are no longer in the stranglehold of state or criminal racketeering. [passage omitted]

We are very well aware that we cannot secure the development of normal market relations based on the

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absolute dominance of a single form of ownership and that is why, as professional economists, we state that all forms of ownership can co-exist in equal measure within our economy, private, state, public, collective ownership, a form traditional to Russia, ownership by religious organizations that for some reason have been forgotten by many today, all forms of ownership can co-exist in what is referred to as mixed economy. As for land ownership, this painful issue for Russia — I can cite a small example here and every listener of our broadcast will understand that this issue must not be reduced to the absurd. Private ownership of land is needed, no doubt about that — but it has to be done sensibly and on condition that we have prepared proper grounds for this to take effect. [passage omitted]

[Gromov] Let me say this — undoubtedly, one of my chief tasks and one of the chief tasks of my electoral association, My Fatherland, will be to resolve the problems connected with our country's national security. [passage omitted] I think that ideally and generally the Armed Forces ought to be professional in our country, in Russia. It is a task of immense importance, a very large task. Naturally, both time and resources are needed to carry it out and that is why I said ideally, but we should be striving toward that ideal. I do not now wish to name the figure concerning the numerical strength of our Armed Forces. First, the Army must be in a position to defend the country in whatever sector it has to and, as is known, we have very many such sectors in our country. Second, it has to be borne in mind that our Armed Forces are completely different from, say, the Armed Forces of the United States of America. The United States does not, in fact, have a land border. As for us, our land borders are the main borders. So, even in this case, if you compare the numerical strength of the Armed Forces of Russia and the United States, or any other country for that matter, naturally you must first and foremost proceed from the given country's interests and specific features and we are now concerned with our homeland, our country. As for welfare protection for our servicemen, it exists on paper only and in conversations. I know military life as it is today and I say this with all confidence, because I do know: Servicemen currently have practically no welfare guarantees. [passage omitted] One of the biggest problems for commanders and chiefs currently is this — that either he, or his closest subordinates, deputies, depart by all manner of transport to seek out food for their own soldiers. When have we ever had to face a situation such as this, indeed? It seems to me that never in our country's history has there been such a situation. [passage omitted]

I think that sooner or later we will come to the realization that we will have to withdraw our troops from Chechnya and leave those there who will have to deal with the main task — I have here in mind the Ministry of Internal Affairs, its structures and bodies, but the troops will have to be pulled out, absolutely so. The main cause behind the current ills in Chechnya will have to be eradicated. To put it figuratively, the cause consists in the axe hanging over Chechnya, inside Chechnya. This axe must be removed. That is to say, troops have to be withdrawn from there. Later, those who took the first steps toward war should also be the first to take steps toward peace. My understanding of this peace implies the creation of conditions in the region and in this constituent part of the Federation for normal, peaceful life to start there. [passage omitted]

Russia's foreign policy must be aimed at protecting Russia's interests. The point is that Russia should be a great country and be perceived as such in the world, naturally, so that Russia and her interests and views should be reckoned with, so that situations like Russia having in fact been ignored over Yugoslavia, or Bosnia-Herzegovina, to be more precise, can be avoided. We see today that Russian and U.S. defense ministers had talks. What decision was taken? OK, NATO will be the main player, as it were, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Russia will contribute just one brigade. Moreover, this brigade will be operating at the most difficult sector. Yet again, our young lads have been burdened with the most difficult tasks. What is this? This is Russia being ignored most blatantly as a country. Currently no heed is in fact paid to Russia's interests or her voice. That is why it is necessary to rectify all this, as it were, it is necessary to change things here. After all, take any modern country, any state, I mean a major one, even members of this G-7 group. After all, they have their own interests everywhere and they are defending these interests of theirs. We attempt to do the same, but as far as many positions and parameters are concerned, we just fail. [passage omitted]

Regional Activities

Zavgayev Meets Premier; Shows Confidence in Elections

LD2211192495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Doku Zavgayev was received by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin but we do not yet have the details of their conversation. Zavgayev also met Minister of Internal Affairs Kulikov. Journalists were not allowed to attend this meeting but at the

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end of it journalists from the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs Television Service managed to put some questions to Zavgayev.

[Begin Zavgayev recording, shown speaking to journalists] To speak objectively, to say the truth, there is no authority on the territory of the Chechen Republic. No authority of any kind. There is a range of various power structures which act autonomously and independently. In many ways, they do not just fail to act in concert but often they contradict each other. There are about 10 such authorities. Of course, there can be no order with such a range, even theoretically speaking.

The main rationale for the elections is to create legitimate and constitutional power bodies. The elections will take place. I am convinced about this because I have been meeting people in many regions and am convinced that the elections will certainly take place in all the regions.

NDR Issues Statement on Raid of Samara Office

MM2711111995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 1

[Own information report: "Life Must Be Driven by Passion. But Not Extremism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The federal election headquarters of the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] movement has issued a statement which says, in particular, that an attack has been made on the NDR regional branch headquarters in Samara. The raiders trashed the office and stole a computer data base of movement activists and office copies of the lists of signatures in support of candidates. The federal headquarters assesses this as nothing other than a political act aimed at obstructing the NDR's participation in the elections.

The NDR movement has always opposed extremist methods of election campaigning. But extremism on the part of wreckers and raiders is making its presence felt, and it originates from the political abuse by the leaders of some parties which, in violation of Central Electoral Commission instructions, is currently to be heard from television screens or being disseminated via the pages of individual party publications.

The extremists are also trying to intimidate the democratic media. For example, a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newsstand opposite its editorial office was smashed up and threats are being made against journalists.

As far back as 2 October the NDR movement headquarters appealed to the Central Electoral Commission and party and bloc leaders to speak out against attempts to turn the election campaign into intimidation and blackmail. This proposal went unheeded, unfortunately. If this kind of trend develops, the statement stresses, the election campaign could be accompanied by further attempts by extreme forces not only to stifle the freedom of the elections but also to take physical reprisals against their opponents.

The movement headquarters urges all participants in the election campaign to stick to civilized methods of political struggle.

Election Guidelines

Court Head Explains Election Law Decision

LD2411202995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (INTERFAX) — Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Vladimir Tumanov told reporters today that the Constitutional Court had no authority to decide on the drawbacks in some provisions of the law on elections to the State Duma.

"The issue should be resolved by the Russian parliament," he said with regard to the Court's refusal to consider inquiries from both a group of Duma deputies and the High Court demanding that some provisions of the law be declared unconstitutional.

"The Russian Constitution does not indicate whether Russia should have a mixed, proportional or other electoral system," Tumanov said. "It's up to law-makers themselves" to select the electoral system, he said.

"The inquiries were submitted to the Court while the election campaign was in fact nearing completion," Tumanov said, naming that as another reason for the Court's decision.

"Legal proceedings would in fact transform the Constitutional Court into a key actor of the campaign and would destabilize the electoral process," Tumanov said.

Tumanov stressed that the Court's decision not to rule on such inquiries was final and could not be appealed. "However, this does not mean that the election subject is closed for the Constitutional Court," he said.

INTERFAX has learned that a group of judges disagreeing with the Court's decision are expected to release a dissenting opinion.

Satarov, Duma Deputies Discuss Election Law

LD2511172095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0815 GMT on 25 November

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broadcasts the 45-minute "How Shall We Live" program that features a live phone-in panel discussion hosted by Irina Lapina. Attending are Boris Zamay and Viktor Sheynis, members of the State Duma Committee for Legislation and Judicial and Legal Reform; and Yeltsin's aide Georgiy Satarov.

The discussion is devoted to the issues related to the discrepancies in the currently existing Election Law, whether it is worth postponing the upcoming elections and amend the law first, and what dangers this situation could pose. The participants agree that the existing law has imperfections. Satarov thinks the best way is to amend the law before the elections, but Sheynis very strongly disagrees, saying that it is ruled out. Sheynis says that these imperfections are caused by the necessity to find a compromise between the law-makers and the president.

Sheynis says: "More or less, the law reflects the state of our society at present. I am ready to insist on this, despite the fact that it certainly has some imperfections. There is no other opportunity for voters to influence the law but for the very institution that passes the law. We have three such institutions. First, it is the Duma, second, the Federation Council, and third, the president. The law is the result of a compromise, the result of agreement between the three bodies. I think it is politically short-sighted and legally incorrect to start a campaign after the issue has been agreed upon, only because there are 43 claimants to the cake."

Presidential Aide Satarov disagrees with Sheynis that the law reflects the current situation in society. He says: "I categorically disagree with the statement that the law corresponds to the present state of society. The proportional system corresponds only to such a society that has a structured stable multiparty system. Only then, can the proportional system realize its advantages. It goes without saying that it has its advantages in comparison with the first-past-the-post system. So, for this particular reason, the law does not correspond to the state of society by definition. Moreover, the proportional system aggravates this problem because it subdivides the parties. This is what we are observing today." He also says that the law does not reflect the interests of the society. He cites the Georgian elections as an example, when the interests of over 60 percent of the electorate were not represented in the newly elected parliament. Satarov say that the president was blackmailed and found himself under pressure when examining the issue of the 5-percent barrier.

Satarov says: "The 5-percent barrier in itself cannot be seen as either constitutional or non-constitutional. The main thing is in the standards as a whole. In our case, the proportional system was forced on the president as a compromise. In fact, the president was blackmailed in reaching this compromise. The president was harassed that by imposing a veto...[pauses] and you took part in it...[pauses] He was plotting against democracy and aimed at derailing the elections. These words did exist, they were recorded in the minutes of the State Duma. All this did take place. There was a four-month interval between the first and second readings, despite the Duma's own decision to hold the second reading in December." He goes on to say that the proportional system is not suitable for Russia.

Sheynis disagrees with him, denying that there was an attempt to blackmail the president. They also have an inconclusive discussion whether a law on parties could help change the situation. All three interlocutors were aware of a danger that after the elections the Constitutional Court could reach the conclusion that the elections were not legitimate and valid because the existing law contains certain contradictions that allow this to happen. Zamay's main point is that it is not fair when the candidates who lost at one-seat constituencies, still can be elected to the parliament because they were in the party list, and it gives them a double chance to win regardless. On the whole, he is in agreement with Satarov.

Shokhin Proposes Supplement to Election Law

MK2511063295 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Grigoriy Nekhoroshev: "The Public Appeals to the Duma. It Will Hardly Heed the Call"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fourteen members of the conciliation commission on implementation of the Public Accord Treaty under their chairman, Sergey Filatov, discussed yesterday afternoon [21 November] the law "On State Duma Elections" and the situation surrounding it.

In Filatov's words, the Russian Federation president has now become worried about the noisy discussion of the election law.

Filatov has come to the conclusion that, should the law remain in its present form, the courts will in the future be able to contest the election results, because the 5-percent barrier does infringe on citizens' rights. Parties and movements scoring between 1 and 4 percent and unable to clear the barrier may say that their total electorates are bigger than those who garnered 5 percent and made it into the Duma. Single-seat constituency deputies could do likewise.

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The commission at the same time decided that the election date cannot be postponed for a whole range of well-known reasons.

Something in the nature of a Solomonic decision was proposed by State Duma Deputy Aleksandr Shokhin. It was backed by all members of the conciliation commission who were on hand with the exception of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] representative.

As a result, the conciliation commission proposed to the Russian Federation president, the Federation Council, the State Duma, and the Central Electoral Commission the convocation of a quadripartite conciliation commission so as "to analyze the fundamental norms of the law on the election of deputies to the Federal Assembly's State Duma primarily as regards citizens' voting rights, and to hammer out proposals on amending some of its provisions."

Next, the conciliation commission is supposed to recommend that the Duma leave the law "On Elections" intact, since there is simply no time for that, and instead to pass another small one in a hurry — including in it, in particular, a provision guaranteeing that all electoral associations winning at least 1 percent of the vote should be represented in the Duma. The number of deputies from the list will be determined in proportion to the number of votes won.

Commission participants think this supplement will not change the existing law since, they say, it will not alter its essence, but will only apply to the vote-counting procedure.

That was recommended to the Duma.

But even if they are to heed it, there is virtually no likelihood of the law's being passed. The LDPR representative lodged a protest during the conference. We know that "Russia's Choice," the Agrarians, and the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] faction are speaking in the Duma against changing the law "On Elections." The latter is not likely to change its view under any circumstances, since the Communists are confident of winning and are unwilling to have the future Duma diluted by people from other than their own party.

But even if a miracle happens and the Duma passes the law recommended by the commission, this will not end the election clashes. This may give rise to a number of bands of citizens who will say they did not join the election campaign because they knew they would not be able to clear the 5-percent hurdle. Since the conditions have changed, their wishes have changed, too. And they would all go to court.

Forecasts & Commentary

Democrats Ponder Rise of Left-Wing Political Forces

MM2311162795 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[From the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI roundtable feature: "Power Is Not the Goal of Democracy, but Neither Is Democracy the Goal of Those Fighting for Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The electoral situation in Russia is like the weather when a storm is brewing — there are constant changes in the atmosphere, charges build up, the wind direction and speed shifts, and all the participants in the large-scale drama look skywards with concern....

But these doubts and concerns are not only about whether or not there will be a "storm" — that is, the elections. The main concern is about what we can expect later. Will the social atmosphere be cleared? Will there be proper representation in the new parliament for present-day Russia's political forces? Or will disappointed voters vote for the "party of revenge" — which will compound the social situation, since forces leading the country down the path of reform will clash with those who want to stop or reverse that movement. Current predictions are contradictory, but we cannot fail to note that society is by degrees being trained to think that democratic and reformist forces should not count on success in the parliamentary elections.

Is that true? What do the democrats themselves think about it? ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI held a written "roundtable" between the leaders of well-known democratic associations, asking them to answer the following questions.

1. There is a view that the majority in the State Duma, second convocation, will be held by left-wing parties. Do you share that view? What size of vote, in your view, can democratic electoral associations expect? If the democrats are unable to pool their efforts in the election campaign and create a relatively strong coalition in the Duma, how will they be able to counter the threat of the Russian Federation Constitution being revised and the reforms being wound up?

2. What is your attitude to the idea of convening a congress of democratic forces? What might its aim and results be? What, in your view, would be the most convenient date for holding it?

Readers can familiarize themselves with our interlocutors' answers on page two. We will not comment on them, we will merely note that the positions held by

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democratic leaders do not differ as much as you might imagine on the basis of the fact that they prefer to enter the State Duma elections separately rather than in a united bloc. The main thing is that they are united in believing that revenge can only be countered through the joint efforts not only of consistently democratic organizations but of all political forces dedicated to the idea of social harmony and seeing Russia's future as lying not in a return to the past but in the formation of new, progressive economic, legal, and civic institutions.

Yegor Gaydar, Russia's Democratic Choice

1. I do not think that the current political realities in Russia permit us to employ the concept of "left-wing" and "right-wing" political forces in their generally accepted sense with a sufficient degree of accuracy. If there is a serious threat of a change in the composition of the future State Duma vis-a-vis the current Duma, it is more likely to be in the direction of imperial, national socialist forces. I see neither proletarian internationalism nor hatred of private ownership — and those are the necessary attributes of any self-respecting Marxist party — in today's Russian Communists. It is no accident that they have found it so easy to come to an agreement in the current Duma with the nationalists. On most fundamental issues they vote virtually identically.

Do I consider this a real danger? It must not be underestimated, even though personally I do not consider it a fatal threat. A great deal, if not everything, will depend on how seriously sober-minded Russians (and I know there are far more of them than people try to make out) treat their right and duty to express their attitude to what has been taking place in the course of the runup to the elections. Simply put, it will depend on whether the supporters of democracy and stable economic development based on private ownership actually go to the ballot box 17 December. In this instance we are dealing with a historic crossroads, after which development could go either way. Forward or backward — that is the question.

So I would like to ask readers not to look in these lines for a prediction of the future on my part, but to make their own choice, which is the only sensible one — vote for the political association whose program strikes you as realistic and in line with citizens' interests. And I mean citizens, not politic dogmas or imperial ambitions. Those who fail to e will only have themselves to blame if adventurists come to power in the country.

For their part, it is the duty of politicians to make maximum use of the time remaining to work actively with voters in a well-thought-out way. The good sense and, most importantly, coordination between the electoral strategies of constructive political forces will also largely determine the future makeup of the Russian parliament.

Given a favorable combination of these two aforesaid factors, democratic electoral associations can, I believe, count on around one-third of the seats in the State Duma, new convocation. If this does not happen, the further development of our country could be in serious jeopardy. But, in any event, we need to follow the universal rule that panic is inadmissible. Historical truth is on the side of democracy. So I believe that ultimately we will triumph.

2. On the whole I welcome this idea, although I doubt that the immediate convening of a congress of democratic forces would be of any major importance for coordinating the actions of democratic electoral associations at this stage — that is, the parliamentary elections.

Rather, we should be talking about consolidating all sober-minded forces to ensure that the initiative of organizing such a forum comes from below, from the largest and most influential democratic parties, movements, and their supporters. I hope that my colleagues on the democratic side of the political spectrum will hold similar views.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, Party of Social Democracy

1. Despite the full complexity of the situation I nonetheless do not consider a victory for right-wing forces (I cannot call the Bolsheviks "left-wing" — be they neo-Communists, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Agrarians, or other allies, since they are counterreformers and, consequently, "right-wing") in the elections to be inevitable. But you sometimes get the impression that people in our country are starting to buy not just opinion polls but the actual results as well. Although we need to look reality square on: A great deal has been done recently to strengthen their position — primarily the fact that the social program has been ignored (or, essentially, wrecked). Democracy has no goal other than people and their well-being. All the rest is method and approach. But the democrats, regrettably, are more wrapped up in their power games than in this main aim. Doctors, teachers, and science have been left to one side. There is one positive aspect to the rejection of wholesale financing — less grayness in our life. And thank God for that. But we must not destroy everything for this sake. Incidentally, the Bolsheviks are playing this card very skillfully.

It is sometimes said that good sense will prevail. I also believe in people's good sense, but waiting for it to prevail all by itself is more of an illusion than a

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reality. Unfortunately and for some unknown reason, the democrats have gone on the defensive. The information policy in the press and particularly on TV also favors the opposition, in my view. The democrats are obliged to overcome their split and surmount personal ambitions. We must unite in the Duma and reach common ground on the fundamental issues....

If we fail to create a counterweight to the antireformers in the Duma, our hopes will rest with the president. He has enough power and influence to prevent a reversal. If the Constitution comes under attack or there are attempts to bring in nationalization, to wind up reform, or to pursue militarization, we must strive for new parliamentary elections. We must not allow the people to be betrayed as they were in 1917....

2. The activeness of democratic forces has fallen sharply. You get the impression that many people are afraid of appearing before audiences or are unable to talk with people. It is as if people have agreed in advance that their opponents are going to win. But that is wrong! We need to talk, we need to act. So I advocate the holding of a congress of democratic forces. It is needed in order for us both to mobilize ourselves and to send a signal to society that the democrats have not given up, they will be continuing the fight.

As for the timing, it is unlikely to be possible just now. In the first half of December we hope to stage a congress of antifascist forces. This too is a very important event — we need to make it clear whom we are **not allied with**. The democratic congress will need to be held in order to **rally** all reformist forces. I think this will be possible.

Irina Khakamada, "Common Cause"

1. If a sizable majority in the next State Duma is held by the opponents of private ownership, parliamentary democracy, and political and economic freedoms, it could be disastrous. If they were to win an overwhelming majority in parliament, antireform deputies would create pseudolegal grounds for the large-scale redivision of property. And that would mean rivers of blood! After all, people will fight to the bitter end for their property. The threat of a new civil war would be entirely realistic.

If everything continues the way it is going at the moment, supporters of reform (not to mention consistent democrats) will have no more than 20-25 percent of the seats in the next Duma. So we need to ensure that as many people as possible who have experienced the benefits of the reforms and the value of present-day democracy — young people, the well-educated, those with their own businesses — turn out on polling day. Otherwise the country's fate will be decided by the disciplined supporters of radical movements.

We need to ensure that reformist organizations try to coordinate their actions right now. This alone can stop the antireformers from revising the Constitution and attempting to set the country back to the barrack-style past.

Given that the democrats have not only lost state support, the mass media, and substantial amounts of private funding but have also lost a considerable amount of society's trust (as a result of disenchantment wrought by the antisocial and inconsistent nature of the reforms), they have only one option left — to repeat the tactic used by the Communists (who have literally risen from the ashes since 1992) and work "from the ground up," creating sound, disciplined structures, bringing them together in a unified network, and finding the funds (kopek by kopek). Hardly any of our democrats are used to this, and they do not know how to do it....

2. Nonetheless, we should not be downhearted. We could still attempt to make a breakthrough by convening — in late November-early December, say — a congress of Russian democratic forces (or, more accurately, a congress of the supporters of democracy and reform).

To this end it is necessary to immediately "bind" democrats at local level together with firm horizontal ties and to attract as many realistically minded people to the congress as possible. We need to be really strong-willed in our work, have a constructive dialogue, and push our ambitions to one side — otherwise everything will degenerate as usual into more public squabbles and high-profile splits.

At the congress we need to honestly admit that the electoral law produced from the "heart of the democratic movement" is flawed, undemocratic, produces irresponsible politicians and unrestrained populism, and turns "flawed" figures into "engines" dragging unprincipled characters from the margins of society and criminal "sponsors" into positions of influence.

The new electoral law (or the amendments to the old one), for which genuine democrats should struggle together, should rule out "lists." Only first-past-the-post elections in districts, with the candidates nominated by parties (this is necessary to truly develop parties as an inalienable part of civic society) and with very strict requirements on party registration should be allowed. Parties should have real organizations not only in most Federation components but also in most rayons in those components. And if after the elections someone leaves a party, then they should give up their seat — in other words, parties should also have the right to recall their

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deputies. All this would force the democrats to really unite and create a strong party.

One other aim of the congress would be to ensure, without making it clear whose program is more "rescue-oriented" or whose image is more charismatic, that as many people turn out to vote as possible. If there is a high turnout, the democrats and consistent reformers may stand a chance. So the democrats need to launch a general campaign both in the press and "on the doorsteps" to get the voters to go the polls.

Boris Fedorov, "Forward, Russia!"

1. There is a certain amount of fear of this sort, of course. But I do not share the defeatist sentiments of many politicians and political scientists. A communist renaissance is not inevitable. Orthodox communist doctrine is doomed both historically and demographically in our country. Once the older generation — which for a number of reasons still keeps faith with communist ideals — goes, there will be no new adherents for our neo-Communists. In this sense it is worth noting the example of Zyuganov, who quite recently stated at a meeting with major Western financiers that he is not a Communist. Obviously sensing the narrowing of the social base, Gennadiy Andreyevich is trying to recast himself either as a social democrat or as a genuine Russian Orthodox Christian [pravoslavnyy] with clear national- patriotic overtones. And he is also trying to retain "proletarian internationalism" in his manifesto speeches. But, apart from Zyuganov, there is also Anpilov [leader of the Russian Communist Workers Party], who hates the Communist Party of the Russian Federation leader, there is Shenin [leader of the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU], and even former Soviet Premier Ryzhkov is capable of siphoning off some of the electorate. So it is simply impossible for a unified communist monolith to exist today. Incidentally, I have always been well-disposed toward the idea of communism in the sense of a life of paradise. There would be nothing wrong in enjoying universal abundance!

As for the democratic representation in the new Duma, everything will depend exclusively on us. If we work well, the "left-wingers" (including those in single-seat districts) are unlikely to win more than 30 percent. The threat to the reforms comes, unfortunately, not only from the "left" but from the executive as well. It has to be admitted that, apart from "depressed stabilization," nothing has been accomplished. The Chernomyrdin government is currently doing nothing that could be called real reform or which could have tangible results for the population. The reforms should be specific and they should be evident not in price rises but in tangible results for all. The very concept of reform is being discredited in the voters' eyes, and the voters are effectively being driven into the arms of the Communists and the nationalists. Such a policy is suicidal. And I said exactly that during my meeting with President Yeltsin. Our movement is criticizing the government not for the reforms, but for its lack of any desire or the political will to implement them.

In this situation the question of creating a democratic coalition capable of forming an effective government in the new Duma becomes of key importance. It seems to me as though this coalition should emerge not as a result of mergers resulting in some unified party (ultimately there are too many fundamental differences between the positions of "YaBLoko," Gaydar's party, and the "Forward, Russia!" movement), but as a result of coordinated action in specific areas.

As regards changes to the Constitution, I can say that they are needed. Our fundamental law was drawn up too hastily, and amendments to it should be attended to by the new Duma deputies.

2. I have always been positive about this idea. Its aim should be to determine what unites us and where we differ. And, guided by this, to draw up a line for specific cooperation in Russia's interests. I believe that at this stage it would be premature and not serious to discuss who will be president. Today it is more important to reach agreement on joint action in the new parliament. And the result should be the formation of a new democratic coalition government which would begin real reforms. As for the date for holding such a congress, late November-early December seems the most suitable time to me. But this should not be a one-shot event — its purpose is to launch a continual and constructive dialogue between democratic parties.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, "YaBLoko"

1. If there is a left-wing majority in the Duma, responsibility for that will lie wholly with the government, which has failed to pay people their wages and pensions for months. After all, we can say a great deal about the positive changes in our country over the past 10 years, but it is impossible to deny one thing — in the Soviet era wages may have been small but they were paid regularly.

As for the talk of unifying democratic forces, the two-year experience of our work in the Duma shows that, despite all our differences, we vote as one on all the important and fundamental issues. And that is no less important than organizational unity.

2. We advocate the convening of the broadest conference of all anti-authoritarian forces. If it is definitely

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termed a "democratic" conference, then we need first to define what that worn-out concept means today and which forces would actually count as "democrats" and which would not.

The parliamentary elections will show which forces are viable and what most Russians actually want. I am convinced that, irrespective of what certain parties and movements may call themselves, most people in Russia want the right to say what they think; they want the ability to replace the authorities if they do not like them; they believe that the authorities should be replaced under a definite procedure every three, four, or five years; they are prepared to obey the law on condition that everyone, including the president, has to follow that rule. People — be they rich or poor — believe that nobody has the right to touch other people's property.

The creation of the broadest coalition with those who uphold these positions and who want to replace the current regime peacefully — that is our goal. Accomplishing this through the talks and consultations which would be officially held at the congress could be the result of that event.

Vladimir Lysenko, Republican Party of the Russian Federation

1. The political pendulum in Russia at the moment is still moving left. Left-wing forces have recently come to power in many countries of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, replacing national democrats and liberals. There is a simple explanation — the "shock" reforms pursued in those countries have to be paid for. Additionally, there have been many mistakes and deviations from democratic principles which the "democrats" in power have committed.

But there are left-wingers and left-wingers. Whereas in most East European countries left-wing (former Communist) parties have long since been transformed into social democratic organizations, in our country the Communists are still Communists. Their manifestos continue to include building communism as their main ultimate goal, restoring Soviet power, restoring the USSR, and dividing up privatized property. And this means that the advent to power of the Communists could trigger new revolutions (or counterrevolutions) and civil wars.

I believe that the Communists and Agrarians will win more of the vote at these Duma elections than they did in the previous ones — but not more than a third of the vote.

As for democratic electoral associations, these will be the toughest elections for them. Since the unpopularity of the policies pursued by the current authorities (whom the population links with the democrats) has reached its zenith. I believe that centrist democratic associations stand a chance of success. That is, those who, while supporting the need for the further implementation of reform, at the same time believe that certain policy amendments are necessary.

So it seems to me that the democratic opposition — the "YaBLoko" bloc, our "Pamfilova-Gurov-Lysenko" association (the Republican Party of the Russian Federation), and certain others — stand a chance of success. So we need to clearly recognize that if the current team and its policy is not replaced, we will lose everything and go back to the restoration of the old orders.

The democratic blocs can count on approximately a third of the seats in parliament. It is possible they may form a bloc before the election in first-past-the-post districts. And after the election they may set up a coalition in the Duma as well as for the presidential elections.

2. With this stance I believe that a congress of democratic and centrist forces could be held following the December Duma elections, taking account of the election results and the emergence of real candidates from the reformist forces for the presidential elections. This congress should be preceded by broad consultations between the parties and blocs on their candidate for the Russian presidency. I see the purpose of this measure as being to create a broad coalition of different political forces that are prepared to prevent a victory in the presidential elections for extreme left-wing and right-wing politicians. I see such a coalition as being pretty broad.

But the staging of a narrow congress comprising only democrats who support the current authorities will have no benefit and could lead to a highly dangerous trend — the formation of a bloc between left-wing parties and authoritarian-leaning parties [partii derzhavnoy oriyentatsii] on the one hand, and the political center on the other. This would not only spell defeat in the presidential elections, but would be a political retreat with tragic consequences for the country....

LDPR Runs 'Majority' of Unauthorized Campaign Ads

LD2611164295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 26 (INTERFAX) — The majority of election campaign placards hung in Moscow without an appropriate permission belong to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR). In this "competition," the LDPR is followed by anti-government slogans written on walls of houses and on

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fences, an official at the Moscow government's division for technical and administrative inspections told INTERFAX.

The official said the Moscow authorities had set special places for installing "electoral ads" in every Moscow district. However, many parties breach these regulations, the official said.

"Unauthorized placards appear the most often in the city's Central and Southern districts," sources in the Moscow Mayor's Office said.

The Moscow authorities are now taking measures to restore law and order, which includes painting out unauthorized slogans and tearing off unauthorized placards, the official said.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Nov

LD2511073595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0548 GMT 25 Nov 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 25 (Itar-Tass) — The Izvestiya newspaper front-pages an article entitled "What trigged off war in Chechnya?", devoted to the anniversary of the tragic events in that republic. The daily lists the chronology of events which preceded the dispatch of federal troops to the republic, which started the war.

The unsigned article describes in detail which departments and people were involved in recruiting Russian servicemen for the action in Chechnya. The examination of facts and events enabled the newspaper to draw the conclusion: the war in Chechnya started with a provocation planned by Russian secret services.

Newspapers describe as an echo of this war a radioactive container found in the Izmaylovo Park in Moscow, which had been allegedly planted by the Basayev group (Eds: rebel chieftain Basayev captured over 100 hostages in the Russian city of Budennovsk, after which the peace talks started with separatist leader Dudayev, continuing up to this time).

The trade union newspaper Trud quotes Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov who calmed down people, saying that "the container found in Moscow is of no danger" to population.

In this connection, the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper reports a sensation: it turns out that Moscow sold Dudayev a trainload of zirconium used in the nuclear power industry.

The daily claims that Russian secret services painstakingly conceal this fact of nuclear smuggling. The newspaper prints documents on how Dudayev's regime skimmed lavish profits by resaling this strategic raw material to Ukraine, the Baltics and other foreign countries.

Writing in the Rossiyskaya Gazeta newspaper, head of the Moscow-backed government Doku Zavgayev claims that it is necessary to hold elections to the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house) and of the head of the republic. He is sure that the elections will be held in the republic on December 17, despite Dudayev's opposition.

The Rossiyskiye Vesti newspaper, close to presidential quarters, features an article by Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov, describing "sore" points in struggle against crime, the need for strengthening the basis of the civil service and a concept for the development of the Interior Ministry system.

According to the minister, rampant crime in the country put forth the question on Russia's future. There are about 6,500 active crime families in Russia. Of the greatest danger are 46 inter-regional crime groups, numbering 6,000 "soldiers", the minister notes.

He points to the danger of collusion between government officials and organised crime which is "capable of seriously damaging the foundations of the state".

The minister stresses that "our position is that crime has not so far overstepped the line of struggle against it. Law enforcement bodies are really capable of influencing the state of the criminal situation".

The army newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda prints a detailed account of talks in the Russian Black Sea city of Sochi between the Russian and Ukrainian defence ministers on military cooperation.

The daily notes that "the meeting's agenda includes 13 questions. Five agreements were ready for signing from the very start. It is supposed that the number of documents to be prepared for signing will rise to 15".

The newspaper stresses that the meeting between the two ministers may give a new impetus to the development of relations between the Ukrainian and Russian military departments.

Under the heading "Elections-95: Portrait of contender", Izvestiya presents the Our Home is Russia movement. The article stresses that it is much more difficult for this movement to fight for the electorate than for its rivals who score points by criticising the ruling bloc.

The daily sees a potential in the movement to build a coalition with democratic forces in parliament, desirable from the viewpoint of prospects of the state, but this principle may fail to materialise if sentiments a la patriotic nature will take the upper hand in the movement.

Sweden Ratifies EU Association Agreements for Baltics

WS2311114295 Tallinn BNS in English 1600 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Nov 22, BNS — The Swedish parliament on Wednesday [22 November] approved the European Union's association agreements for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Nobody in the Riksdag voted against the agreements, Estonian Ambassador Margus Laidre said by phone from Stockholm.

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MP Goran Lennmarker in his remarks before the vote called the agreements were important from the security policy point of view. "This is a step toward increased stability in the Baltic Sea area," he said.

The agreements must also be ratified by the Swedish government, which the ambassador said was largely a formal step.

Denmark, the first EU member to do so, approved the Baltics' Europe accords on Tuesday. The European Parliament approved the treaties on Nov. 15.

Also Finland is expected to issue its approval this year.

Japan Plans Economic Aid for Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan

LD2611100295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 26 Nov 95

[By Aleksandr Kopnov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TOKYO, November 26 (Itar-Tass) — The Japanese government has decided to work out a programme for large-scale economic assistance to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. The programme is intended for a period of several years. This will be the first such experience in cooperation with CIS countries, with several dozen billion yen to be allocated for assistance to them. A draft programme will be presented to the governments of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan for consideration in the new fiscal year which begins in Japan on April 1.

It was not fortuitous that these two countries have been chosen. Tokyo proceeded primarily from the assumption that they are part of Asia, to which the Japanese government attaches paramount importance in its foreign policy, Japanese Foreign ministry sources have told Itar-Tass.

Besides, Foreign Ministry estimates are that the two countries experience to the largest extent the negative impact of the unstable internal political situation in such neighbouring countries as Afghanistan, Iran, Russia, and China.

Earlier, Japan already rendered assistance to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in the form of free financial aid and technology. The Japanese Foreign ministry believes that the two countries encounter a host of economic problems in the formation of their own statehood, the problems which have been brought about by the underdeveloped nature of the industrial infrastructure, the deterioration of the ecological situation and, most importantly, by the collapse of the previous system of close contacts with Russia.

This is why a programme of assistance to the two countries will be aimed at accelerating market reforms and privatisation there and at strengthening their contacts with other Islamic CIS and Middle East countries. Besides, Tokyo is convinced that the establishment of close relations with Japan will help Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan to bolster up their prestige in neighbouring countries.

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U.S., NATO Seen as Sympathetic to Moscow on Expansion

MK2511135595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Natalya Kalashnikova: "A Look Over the Shoulder at Moscow as a Factor in the Dialogue With NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The expansion of NATO is a lengthy process that could continue for many years. Such a careful statement was made this week by Pentagon chief William Perry to the disappointment of his Baltic colleagues in Tallinn, Vilnius, and Riga. According to him, countries aspiring to membership in the alliance will be admitted on a case-by-case basis: Corresponding decisions will need to be taken by the parliaments of the aspiring countries and NATO member states. True, it is not ruled out that with the departure of Lech Walesa, the main initiator of East European integration into NATO, the attitude to this idea in the aspiring countries will become more restrained. Already there are some indications of this.

Bill Clinton received an answer to the question of how the change of president in Poland will affect NATO policy on Tuesday [21 November] — in a telephone conversation with Aleksander Kwasniewski. According to the new Polish leader, "Clinton welcomed the fact that I emphasize the need for good relations with Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia." Kwasniewski elaborated on this idea in his interview yesterday with LIBERATION, stressing that although Russia cannot make decisions on Poland's joining NATO, it is essential to "conduct a discussion with it, explaining that association with NATO is not directed against it." Looking back over the shoulder at Moscow (in fact his opponents mainly saw this as Kwasniewski's "leftism") is the nuance that sets the new president's position apart from his predecessor, whose arguments boiled down to the laconic thesis of the "threat from the East." Incidentally, in the first line of hopefuls for the alliance, Slovakia has also been noted for "looking back over its shoulder."

Another likely candidate for NATO, Hungary, promises to make its own corrections. Yesterday the Hungarian Central Election Commission deemed valid 142,000 of 181,000 signatures raised in support of an initiative by the Hungarian Workers Party to hold a referendum on the question of joining NATO. Now, under the law, parliament should call the referendum and hold it within the next four months. Judging by the latest poll, attitudes in society are as follows: 49 percent favor joining NATO, 16 percent are against, and 35 percent are undecided. It is difficult to predict which way the pendulum of Atlantic sympathies will swing, especially given that preparations for joining the bloc will involve considerable expense: With the country's current economic problems, this could become a decisive argument against joining NATO.

But let us go back to Perry's voyage to the land of amber [yantarnyy kray]. The "Baltic train" now has apparently been sidelined. Suffice it to mention Perry's statement that "in several years time Lithuania, too, will be a candidate for membership in the alliance." That is to say, at present there is not even any talk of [such a] candidacy. A similar point was also made in the other Baltic capitals. Perry also favors "partnership, and at the same time pragmatic, relations" with Russia, a manifestation of which can be joint participation in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia (he will discuss this with Pavel Grachev in Brussels in several days).

So is it correct to say that Russia's demands (from moderate: The bloc's expansion should not be precipitated, to tough: Expansion will mean a new division of Europe and confrontation between blocs) have now been taken into account by the alliance? On one hand, there are some objective grounds for a constructive dialogue, dictated by events in Eastern Europe, and quite conspicuous contours of such a dialogue are emerging. On the other hand, the allies' warming toward Russia may be due to some quite concrete circumstances — a wish to support Moscow before elections. The fate of the dialogue will in large measure also depend on the personality of the new NATO secretary general, and his views on Eastern European policy (which are among the main criteria in selecting candidates for this post). So far the allies tend to favor the candidacy of Xavier Solana, Spanish foreign minister, whose election, considering the productive cooperation between Moscow and Madrid within the EC framework, would be met with satisfaction in Russia.

Ivanov Comments on Bosnian Accord, Future Meetings

LD2611231895 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 95

[Studio interview with Igor Ivanov, Russian first deputy foreign minister, by announcer Nelli Petkova; from the "Sunday" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petkova] Igor Sergeyevich, I hope that you have already put the sleepless nights of Dayton behind you and have finally managed to get a good night's sleep. Is it with a light heart that you have returned to Moscow? Are there any factors, in your opinion, which might destroy that very fragile peace in Bosnia?

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[Ivanov] The sleepless nights are passing but it is not over yet because it so happens that the workload in Moscow is at least as heavy as it was in Dayton, naturally. As for feelings, probably everyone who was at the talks has dual feelings. On the one hand, a very serious step has been taken on the path to a peace settlement or toward a peace settlement. On the other hand, we now realize that despite the great complexity and difficulty of the talks and the moments of drama, basic difficulties lie ahead. The most difficult part will be putting these agreements into practice and we soberly and realistically realize this difficulty.

[Petkova] So we have Igor Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister of the Russia Federation and head of the Russian delegation at the Dayton talks on finding a settlement for Bosnia, in our studio. Igor Sergeyevich, can Russia impose a veto at the Security Council when military operations in Bosnia are being discussed?

[Ivanov] We are not now preparing to impose a veto but to find a solution that will contribute to a peace settlement. The military component is part of the package of agreements reached in Dayton, and the parties are basing their positions on the view that force will be needed to back up the implementation of these agreements in order to implement these agreements in the course of the year, because the conflicting parties need to be separated. We are now preparing to find a solution, a solution which, if it satisfies us, would enable Russia to participate in this operation.

[Petkova] It is often the case in the course of diplomatic work that sometimes agreements are announced and it later emerges that there is a package of secret documents attached to them. With regard to Dayton, is it not so that there are published documents that only form the tip of the iceberg?

[Ivanov] There are no secret understandings. The package of documents has been published and, moreover, we will be holding a special news conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs next week to clarify all the documents — it is a very weighty package of documents — and to display these documents. So I think that these will probably stand as some of the most complex negotiations from the point of view of diplomatic practice in the postwar years. They have enabled us to prepare proposals in a package to settle the conflict peacefully.

[Petkova] What does Russia get from peace in Bosnia?

[Ivanov] The guarantee that we will be free of the threat of a very serious regional conflict....

[Petkova, interrupting] With regard to the lifting of economic sanctions?

[Ivanov] I think that the lifting of economic sanctions or, to be more precise, the region's economic development is a very important component of the settlement. People must feel that peace has come. People should live better when peace comes. Therefore, a very serious civilian, economic component is now being worked out alongside the military component that we have mentioned. Serious international efforts will be made. The approximate total fund for three years of economic revival is calculated at roughly $3-3.5 billion in order to bring real help after a ruinous war, to lift these countries up economically.

[Petkova] And the final question: An agreement will be signed in Paris as the next stage — as the continuation of the Dayton meeting. It has been announced that a summit of foreign ministers is to be held in London, and then it has been announced that a meeting will be held in Moscow. At what level and with what goal?

[Ivanov] The peace process is now in effect beginning. It is calculated to last one year. There will be stages in the development of this process, during which additional decisions will have to be taken. Therefore, we agreed in Dayton to hold a number of additional meetings. The specific subject matter of these meetings and their level will be determined by the development of the peace process. One of the locations will be Moscow.

[Petkova] The dates for these meetings are also....

[Ivanov, interrupting] They have yet to be decided upon.

[Petkova] We will be waiting! Igor Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister of Russia and head of the Russian delegation at the talks on finding a settlement for Bosnia, was our guest in the studio.

U.S., NATO Seen as Peace Deal 'Winners'

MK2511134695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 2

[Analysis by Aleksandr Golts: "The War Is Over. Who Is the Winner?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "But wars end in peace...." Sooner or later even the most brutal ones end. Thus, this week it seemed that an end was put to Europe's bloodiest conflict in the past 50 years. The presidents of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia, at an airbase in Ohio, inked an agreement which should stop hostilities in Bosnia and bring peace. Amid the general, and apparently sincere, joy over this event — joy which is overflowing from the newspaper pages, the question "Who has won then?" can appear cynical. Even so I am convinced that by evading answering it, we evade an honest analysis of the situation. And therefore also an answer to the other question: "How long will peace in Bosnia last?"

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Meanwhile, it is not so easy to provide an answer. It is much easier to show who has lost. These are, of course, the 250,000 unfortunates who have paid with their lives for this senseless war. These are the 2 million refugees who have lost their homes. And finally, the ruined Bosnia, whose future is rather uncertain. Indeed: The country is proclaimed a single one, but at the same time the division into Muslim-Croat and Serb parts is preserved, also preserving the tension that will continue into the future. It is clear, though, that the nationalists who raved about "Great Croatia" and "Great Serbia" have also lost.

It is more difficult with leaders who in effect have waged ethnic wars and have now become peacemakers. Assuming that their aim was to preserve their own power first through war and then through peacekeeping, they have rather won than lost. Belgrade's unquestionable victory is the UN Security Council's suspension of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia. Sanctions, however, can be resumed if Bosnian Serbs do not honor the signed agreement.

So there is no clear winner in the former Yugoslavia itself. But there is one outside. This is certainly the United States. I have repeatedly written that the Yugoslavia tragedy was so drawn-out because, while seeking to resolve it, the great powers at the same time tried to assess the value of elements in the global and European lineup of forces. This accounted for both the inconsistency of the participants in the settlement process and the contradictions that arose over apparently self-evident things.

After Dayton it needs to be recognized: Washington has mustered enough force to demonstrate its lead role in the present-day world. The U.S. diplomatic team literally dragged the three presidents to Ohio and placed them under conditions close to house arrest. And then with threats and promises beat a peace agreement out of them. At the last stage of the negotiations the negotiators were in effect presented with an ultimatum to which they bowed expeditiously. Meanwhile, representatives of the European Council, the "contact group" on Bosnia, and Russia were sidelined, playing the role of extras to the State Department prima donnas — Christopher and Holbrooke.

The only thing that can prevent Washington from exploiting this diplomatic success is the internal political struggle within the United States itself. The Republican-controlled Congress is not at all eager to help President Clinton in any matter, especially now, with presidential elections in the offing. So it is not ruled out that contrary to the hopes expressed by Clinton, Capital Hill will seek, if not to block the sending of troops to a peace-implementing operation, then at least to delay this decision.

It needs to be recognized that these developments will contribute to strengthening the role of NATO on the European continent. Yes, Moscow has managed to make sure that the abbreviation "NATO" does not figure in the name of the future operation and also that Russian peacekeepers will not be placed under direct NATO command. But it should not be forgotten that General Joulwan, although acting as U.S. forces commander in the operation, remains NATO commander in chief. It is not accidental that preparations for the operation are being conducted by NATO staffs. Richard Holbrooke, undersecretary of state, who has done more than a little to reach a peace agreement, is one author of the U.S. version of the "European security architecture." This project assigns the North Atlantic Alliance the role of the main guarantor of peace and stability on the continent.

If, contrary to Russia's opinion, the UN retreats from direct political control of the operation, ceding full control to NATO, this will become an embodiment of such a model of international relations in practice; that is to say, an unmistakable loss by the UN and a victory by NATO, proving its viability.

And finally, perhaps the most difficult question: Has Russia won or lost? Sad as this might be, it has to be recognized: Our diplomats did not rise to the occasion. Moscow did not manage to get its Western partners to listen to it in the course of NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serbs. There are no indications that our representatives have played any appreciable role in the process of the Dayton negotiations either. Neither has Moscow been heeded now when the UN Security Council has lifted the embargo on arms supplies to all republics of the former Yugoslavia. I would not blame our foreign policy department too much here. To make peace at the negotiating table, you must be able to promise economic support. Russia has no such possibility.

But it should not be forgotten: Pulling out of a settlement process means admitting your second-rate status. It means observing the NATO triumph, unquestionably accepting a situation in which the most important decisions bearing on the continent's security will be made within the NATO framework without Moscow's participation. The decisive factor here was that we are still a major military power, that we are in a position to take part in the peacekeeping operation. Moreover, this participation was suitable also for the West. In the next few days Pavel Grachev, together with his U.S. counterpart, is to find an option for political leadership of this operation.

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It was with some surprise that I read in some of our liberal publications criticism of our defense minister to the effect that Pavel Grachev is purportedly placing Russian troops under the command of a U.S. general. As though these very papers did not call for Russia to join the "community of civilized states," which, with the country's present condition, means the subordinate position not only of one airborne brigade, but of our entire economic and foreign policy. Critics seem to be irritated by the very fact that effective diplomacy originates from the military department. But they ignore the fact that thanks to its readiness to participate in the peacekeeping operation, Russia has received the possibility of influencing a process from which it was effectively barred in the past. Which in the present-day conditions is worth quite a bit.

Moscow, Kiev Close to Agreement on Military Issues

LD2411221395 Moscow NTV in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 95

[Video report by correspondent Aleksandr Gerasimov, including recorded comments by Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov and an unidentified army officer; from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gerasimov] The Russian Ministry of Defense's central sanatorium in Sochi spent the whole day today under a special regime. Women selling tangerines on its territory turned out to be at a great disadvantage as the military were not interested in fruit. However, the whole Ukrainian military delegation was also at a disadvantage. Kiev's economic dependence on Moscow seems to be so deep that no major disagreements were recorded on any issue.

[Shmarov] We have one issue outstanding that still needs a little work, but that is it, we have (?cooperated) with the Russian Defense Ministry and found approaches to all issues.

[Gerasimov] Ukraine announced that the republic will be completely nuclear free by 1998. Meanwhile, the defense ministers Pavel Grachev and Valeriy Shmarov think that Russia and Ukraine have serious prospects for military cooperation.

[Shmarov] The recent work on the launch of a Sych rocket from the first Russian cosmodrome Plesetsk is a concrete example, and work on this protocol arose out of this experience.

[Gerasimov] There is reason to suppose that the rocket attack warning system will be common to Moscow and Kiev in the near future. However, Ukraine and Russia are still quite far apart in terms of a common air defense circuit. Besides, Moscow already owes Kiev more than $3.5 million for air defense services.

For the first time practically all the commanders in chief of the different branches of the Armed Forces came to the Sochi talks with the Ukrainian defense minister. Ukraine is ready to include its land telemetry monitoring centers in the Russian communications circuit with orbital complexes.

[Military Officer] The space program is being corrected by Ukraine. It will be adopted early next year and then it will all be clear to us when this will happen.

[Gerasimov] it looks as though Moscow and Kiev will continue military talks in the near future. Moscow's pressure is already becoming evident. On the first day the sides agreed that Russia will receive 32 SS-19 strategic nuclear missiles on favorable terms and practically on such terms, favorable terms, 19 Tu-160 strategic bombers, and more than 300 nuclear cruise missiles for they will be moved from Ukraine to Russia. The remaining aspects of mutual relations will be agreed tomorrow. [video shows talks in progress]

Kozyrev 'Unaware' of Grachev's Proposals

LD2411152595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By Aleksandr Valiyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 24 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Friday that "the Russian Foreign Ministry is unaware of the contents of proposals put forward by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev" at the talks with Ukraine. "Judging by the press, Pavel Sergeyevich (Grachev) has been reporting directly to the president," Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev spoke upon completion of his meeting with his Turkmen counterpart Boris Shikhmuradov. According to the foreign minister, in this particular case the Foreign Ministry was not assigned a coordinating role and it was not asked to give its opinion.

"Talks with NATO carried on in the line of our Defence Ministry are going ahead in a similar way. There is nothing more to say except to wish on behalf of everyone in the Russian Foreign Ministry that the defence minister's talks be a success," Kozyrev said.

Commenting on his meeting with Shikhmuradov, Kozyrev said that the talks had been held in a spirit of friendly relations, relations of strategic partnership. The two sides have been maintaining regular contacts and seek to develop cooperation in all directions, including within the framework of the CIS, and also cooperate in

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the settlement of the Tajik conflict. In this connection, the Russian foreign minister welcomed the fifth round of the inter-Tajik talks scheduled in Ashgabat on November 30.

For his part, Shikhmuradov said that Turkmenistan has been conducting a policy of neutrality in practice and making efforts for the successful continuation of the Inter-Tajik dialogue, which is met with understanding by the U.N., Russia and all other states-observers. "We would like the fifth round of the Ashgabat talks to yield good results," Shikhmuradov noted.

The Turkmen foreign minister said that during the talks the sides had touched upon the problem of the Caspian Sea and noted that the two sides had showed "signs of having a close approach." Shikhmuradov expressed the hope that issues related to this problem, such as the use of Caspian biological resources, would be resolved by all sides concerned on the basis of a civilised approach, without "adopting unilateral decisions."

Grachev, Shmarov Call Meeting 'Fruitful'

LD2511190595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SOCHI, November 25 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian and Ukrainian defence ministers ended their two-day meeting in Sochi on Saturday by signing 26 working agreements.

Eight accords were concluded at the government and inter-agency levels, nine are protocols of intent, while most of the remaining agreements concern military cooperation in 1996.

The two-day meeting was more fruitful than all contacts over the past four years, Defence Ministers Pavel Grachev of Russia and Valeriy Shmarov of Ukraine told a joint news conference in Sochi today.

Shmarov said and Grachev reiterated that the meeting will strengthen ties between Russia and Ukraine and will help consolidate other CIS states.

They particularly noted protocols on possible purchases by Russia of Ukrainian strategic missile complexes; on cooperation between the defence ministries in the military-space area; on cooperation on the issue of flank restrictions under the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty; on possible joint activities to settle the Bosnian crisis; on major areas of military and technical cooperation; and on the maintenance and funding of missile warning systems in Ukraine.

Speaking about the principles of solving specific problems, the two ministers said they agreed that Ukraine will hand over strategic bombers to Russia. At the initial stage, Russia will receive 10 Tu-160 bombers and 15 Tu-95 bombers. It will pay "in-kind," including in the form of aircraft engines, undercarriages and helicopter propellers.

Grachev expressed the confidence that the issue of the division of the Black Sea fleet will also be resolved. "We showed fleet commanders how things should be handled, in a friendly manner, the way officers should handle them," he said.

"We became not only partners with Valeriy Shmarov, but friends," he added.

For his part, Shmarov said that this understanding was not spontaneous, it was preceded by hard work.

The ministers pointed out that their meeting is important not only for Russian-Ukrainian relations, but also for other CIS countries. "The work done in Sochi will help consolidate the Commonwealth states," Shmarov said.

Grachev expressed the hope that other CIS countries will also sign bilateral agreements with Russia and Ukraine. He also said he is looking forward to his upcoming meetings with his Belarusian counterpart on December 8-9, and the Kazakh defence minister in late December.

LDPR Leader Zhirinovskiy Arrives in Beijing

LD2611094995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0926 GMT 26 Nov 95

[By Marat Abulkhatin and Grigoriy Arslanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIJING, November 26 (ITAR-TASS) — A delegation of the Parliamentary group of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) arrived here on Sunday from Shanghai where they had familiarised themselves with the State set-up, territorial division and the role of the Communist Party in China. The delegation also visited a Technico-Economic Development Area in that city.

The Russian parliamentarians are currently in China at the invitation of the All-China Committee of the People's Political Consultative Council.

While in the Chinese capital, "we intend to discuss a wide range of geopolitical matters," Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the LDPR group in the State Duma, the Lower House of the Russian parliament, has told ITAR-TASS in an exclusive interview.

"Notwithstanding the fact that an election campaign is now in progress in Russia, we, in deference to the great neighbour — China — have decided to spend

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two to three days to get acquainted with this country," Zhirinovskiy emphasised.

While in Beijing, the LDPR leader intends to discuss matters concerning the role and place of Russia and China in the contemporary world. His opinion is that if the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China play a more active role in the international arena and strive for concord so that there would be "no conflicts" between them, the two countries would have a great future in store for them in the 21st century.

Zhirinovskiy believes that nowadays "Western Europe has already exhausted itself. NATO has turned into an aggressive organisation. Military conflicts are being fought everywhere. American troops are deployed in South Korea, and there is continued rivalry among Pacific Rim countries." In Asia, Russia does not rival China in any way. On the contrary, rather, "we can cooperate and interact," he said.

The LDPR leader stated that if an opportunity presents itself, he is prepared to discuss the establishment of inter-party relations with the Chinese side.

Draft Treaty on Inspecting Troops in Georgia Published

MM2711113795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 11

["Draft Agreement Between the Russian Federation Government and the Republic of Georgia Government on Organizing Cooperation in the Inspection of Russian Federation Troop Formations Stationed on the Republic of Georgia's Territory in Connection with the CFE Treaty and the 1994 Vienna Document from the Talks on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures" — ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline; from the "Departmental Supplement" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Government and the Republic of Georgia Government, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

reaffirming their commitment to the international disarmament and arms control treaties and agreements to which they are party,

striving to consistently implement all the commitments and procedures arising from the provisions of the CFE Treaty of 19 November 1990 (hereinafter referred to as the CFE Treaty) and the 1994 Vienna Document of the talks on confidence- and security- building measures (hereinafter referred to as the 1994 Vienna document),

have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The Parties shall, within that cooperation, ensure the observance of the provisions of the CFE Treaty and the 1994 Vienna document as applicable to the Russian Federation troop formations stationed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia (hereinafter referred to as the Russian Federation troop formations).

The Russian Party shall during inspections of Russian Federation troop formations undertake to exercise the rights and perform the duties of the guest state [razmeshchayushcheye gosudarstvo].

The Georgian Party shall during inspections of Russian Federation troop formations undertake to exercise the rights and perform the duties of the host state.

Article 2

In order to organize cooperation on matters pertaining to the ensuring of inspection activity in respect of the Russian Federation troop formations, the Parties shall exchange the requisite addresses, telephone and fax numbers.

On receiving notification from the states party to the CFE Treaty and the 1994 Vienna document (hereinafter known as the states party) of their intention to inspect Russian Federation troop formations the Parties shall inform one another of their receipt of such notification and organize cooperation with a view to ensuring the inspection group's arrival at the entrance/exit point and deciding the membership of the escort group.

Article 3

The Russian Party shall inform the Georgian Party of the time of and procedure for its representatives' arrival to escort the inspection group.

The Georgian Party shall ensure the visa-free entry of the Russian Party's escort group to the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

The Georgian Party shall provide living quarters for the Russian Party's representatives (two or three people) who come to the entry/exit point to escort the inspection group, along with food and motor transport and assistance in establishing telephone links with the Russian Federation Embassy (Mission) and in buying railroad, sea, and air tickets for their departure following the inspection.

Article 4

At the entry/exit point the Georgian Party as the host state shall provide the inspection group and members of the vehicle (aircraft, helicopter, etc.) crew with food and transport, shall provide living and working premises and, where necessary, medical aid and shall

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also supply telephone links with the embassy (mission) of the inspecting state.

The Georgian Party shall convey the inspection group from the entry/exit point to and from the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site.

The Georgian Party shall ensure the security of the inspection group, members of the vehicle crew, and their escorts at the entry/exit point and en route through Republic of Georgia territory.

The Russian Party shall ensure security at the inspection site.

Article 5

On receiving notification from the leader of the inspection group of the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site, the Georgian Party shall immediately convey this information to the Russian Party and coordinate with the latter the schedule for the conveyance of the inspection group to the inspection site.

The Russian Party shall ensure inspection activity at the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site, including the provision of food and transport for the inspection group, their escorts, and the crew of the Georgian Party's vehicles, the provision of living and working premises and, where necessary, medical aid, and the deployment and protection of the Georgian Party's vehicles.

At the request of the Georgian Party the Russian Party may include in the Russian Party's escort group representatives of the Georgian Party (two or three people) directly at the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site.

Article 6

The Russian Party shall provide the Georgian Party with a copy of the report on the inspection of the Russian Federation troop formations.

Article 7

The Georgian Party shall bear the cost of expenditure incurred in ensuring the activity of the inspection group, members of the vehicle's crew, and Russian Federation escorts at the entry/exit point, including the conveyance of the inspection group and the Russian Party's escorts to and from the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site.

The Russian Party, as the guest state, shall bear the cost of the expenditure arising from ensuring the activity of the inspection group and the Georgian Party's escorts directly at the Russian Federation troop formations' inspection site.

Article 8

This agreement comes into force on the day that it is signed and remains in force until Russian Federation troop formations are completely withdrawn from Republic of Georgia territory.

Done at "-" [place unspecified] 199 [precise year unspecified], in two copies, each in the Russian and Georgian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

[signed] [signature not supplied] For the Russian Federation Government

[signed] [signature not supplied] For the Republic of Georgia Government

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Political Issues

Yeltsin To 'Spend Sever Weeks' in Barvikha Resort

LD2711124395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Nov 27 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin finalizes his treatment at the Central Clinic Monday, well-informed sources told INTERFAX.

The president will spend several weeks in the Barvikha resort, Moscow region, under the supervision of his doctors. He will continue to hold working meetings at the resort.

The president's working days will be longer at the resort than they were at hospital. However, working meetings may be postponed a day or two while he moves there.

Boris Yeltsin was taken to hospital on October 26 with acute ischemia.

The Barvikha resort has everything necessary for Yeltsin to combine rehabilitation treatment with control over the state, medical circles told INTERFAX.

The state residence of Barvikha was built about 25 years ago approximately 20 kilometers west of Moscow in a forest zone on the bank of the Moscow River. The resort comprises several buildings, one of which was built as a countryside residence for top Soviet officials. The building is equipped with all types of special communications equipment, enabling efficient control over defense and interior bodies and the military-industrial complex.

Some of the rooms are equipped for closed-door meetings and one will be the location for a regular meeting of the Russian Security Council chaired by Boris Yeltsin in mid-December.

The resort has a hotel and a rehabilitation gym.

Yeltsin, Davydov Discuss Foreign Economic Ties

LD2511124595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1219 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 25 (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov who met at the Central Clinical Hospital on Saturday, discussed the state of Russia's foreign economic relations and ways of their development, ITAR-TASS learnt from the Russian president's press secretary Sergey Medvedev.

Davydov who is also vice-premier of the Russian cabinet, informed the president that the country's foreign trade turnover continued to rise in 1995, will increase by 20 percent as against last year. According to forecasts, the positive balance of payments will be 24- 26 billion U.S. dollars.

Yeltsin pointed to the need for rendering active support for Russian exporters, while the rouble stabilises on currency markets, and to taking measures to stimulate export of machine-tools and other manufactures.

The press secretary also noted that Davydov reported measures taken to repay Russia's foreign debts as well as results of talks between Russia and the Paris and London clubs.

These talks were conducted in line with understandings reached by the Russian president in Halifax at the G7 summit.

Yeltsin and Davydov noted that global reorganisation of debts which is being conducted in line with understandings reached with the London club, will ease foreign economic pressure and will ensure a delay of debt payments by Russia after the year 2000.

According to Medvedev, Yeltsin described an understanding on reorganisation of debts as a document opening financial markets for Russian banks and companies. The president expressed hope that these banks and companies would avail themselves of an opportunity to strengthen their positions on world markets.

Apart from the conversation with Davydov, the president has no other working meetings on his today's working schedule.

Livshits Briefs Yeltsin on Financial Policies

LD2411135195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 24 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's financial policy, including the foreign currency rate after January 1, 1996, were in the focus of attention during a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and presidential assistant for economic affairs Alexander Livshits on Friday. After the meeting, Livshits told journalists that he had familiarised the President with the views of the Central Bank and the Finance Ministry of Russia on the matter. The decision will be passed within a fortnight, Livshits believes.

The meeting also discussed the questions of mortgaging blocks of shares that are federal property and reserving

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of funds by a number of enterprises and organisations for the pay of wages. Because of this not enough funds are transferred to the federal budget and this results in delays in the payment of wages to those employed in the budget sphere. The President expressed concern with the situation whose solution was the purpose of a recent government decree on stage-by-stage abrogation of the system of reserving funds. He noted that although the resolution is right, it should be adjusted so as not to infringe the rights of those employed at enterprises that reserve funds and not to create problems in the transfer of funds to the federal budget.

The crediting policy and interest rate were also discussed by Yeltsin and Livchits. The President declared for decisions which are in keeping with reality, ensure continuity of reform, do not lead to inflation and help avoid industrial recession.

Yeltsin Relieves Plenipotentiary Representative

LD2611163395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1533 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 26 Nov — By his edict from 25 November, Russian President Boris Yeltsin relieved Guriy Sudakov from the post of plenipotentiary representative of the president of the Russian Federation in Vologda region "in connection with his transfer to another job," as said in the text of the edict.

Sudakov was appointed to the post of plenipotentiary representative of the president of the Russian Federation in Vologda region in October 1991. In connection with being elected to the post of chairman of the legislative assembly of Vologda region, Sudakov handed in his resignation from the post of plenipotentiary representative of the president.

Premier Notes Possible Delay of Chechen Elections

LD2411183995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1800 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By Natalya Cherepanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, November 24 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on Friday did not rule out that Chechnya will elect its leader later than on December 17.

The local situation, which is still tense, may prevent election organisers to complete preparations for the poll by the scheduled date, he said.

At the same time, Chernomyrdin expressed confidence that the delay, if it occurs, will not be long.

Premier Cited on Government's Regional Policy

MM2711095695 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin; place and date not given: "People in the Regions Best Know Their Needs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Of late people have been saying that Chernomyrdin is leveling out the regions' rights. Viktor Stepanovich, how do you see the immediate future in terms of leveling out the republics and oblasts?

[Chernomyrdin] You know, there is a great deal of talk about this today. Many people are voicing various hypotheses — including the idea of recarving oblast borders. I am flatly opposed to all this. We have had enough repartitions! We know the result. They only mean war and bloodshed. There will be none of that! These borders have developed traditionally. And we will live within these borders. But there must be no more recarving or repartitioning!

Today the policy pursued by the president and the government involves working with the regions. We have just had a lengthy discussion at a conference on local self-government. I am in favor of giving more power to the localities, to the regions today. It is not Moscow or Chernomyrdin that should be giving directions and commands as to how to live or what and how to build anywhere in an oblast. The regions themselves will do that better. They themselves will decide what to build and how to manage their territories.

But there is something for us to think about at the federal level. We need to create the right conditions for the regions, for sectors, for industry, for private farmers, and for entrepreneurs.

You know that treaties and agreements on the division of economic functions have already been concluded today. This has been done insofar as the republics as concerned. Similar agreements will be signed in the near future with oblasts — Kaliningrad Oblast is ready, as are Krasnodar Kray and Murmansk Oblast. We will carry out this work. But we will do all this within the framework of the Constitution. But for God's sake let there be no repartitioning!

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U.S. Diplomat Summoned in Protest Over Article

LD2411233195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1457 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 24 Nov — A representative of the American Embassy was summoned today to the Russian Foreign Ministry. A protest was expressed to him over the publication of an article by T. Graham, the first secretary of the American Embassy [name and title as received] in the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA devoted to the internal political affairs of Russia. "The Russian Foreign Ministry representative demanded an official and public explanation from the American Embassy," Grigoriy Karasin, the official Russian Foreign Ministry representative told an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

Court Ruling on Kozyrev Case Detailed

MM2411150795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 3

[Abridged version of "Russian Federation Constitutional Court Decision on the Refusal To Consider Citizen Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev's Petition," dated 27 September 1995, Moscow; plus commentary by Tamara Morshchakova, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Constitutional Court, consisting of Chairman Yu.D. Rudkin and Judges M.V. Baglay, N.T. Vedernikov, G.A. Gadzhiyev, Yu.M. Danilov, V.D. Zorkin, A.L. Kononov, T.G. Morshchakova, V.I. Oleynik, V.G. Strekozov, O.I. Tiunov, O.S. Khokhryakova, and V.G. Yaroslavtsev,

having listened in plenary session to the findings of Judge O.S. Khokhryakova, who carried out the preliminary study of A.V. Kozyrev's petition on the basis of Article 41 of the Federal Constitutional Law "On the Russian Federation Constitutional Court," has found that:

1. A.V. Kozyrev asked the Russian Federation Constitutional Court to rule that Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code does not conform to the Russian Federation Constitution.

The grounds for the petition were the judicial proceedings instituted by the City of Moscow's Presnenskiy Intermunicipal People's Court in May 1994 in the action brought by V.V. Zhirinovskiy against NTV and A.V. Kozyrev in defense of his honor and dignity on the basis of Part One of Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code, whereby a citizen or organization is entitled to demand through the court a refutation of reports denigrating their honor and dignity unless the person disseminating such reports can prove that they correspond to reality.

The petitioner contends that Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code in its 11 June 1964 wording (like Article 152 of the new Russian Federation Civil Code) is out of line with Article 29 (Parts 1 and 3) of the Russian Federation Constitution, which guarantees freedom of thought and expression to everyone and lays down that no one can be forced to express or deny their opinions and convictions. According to the petitioner, there are opinions which cannot be the object of judicial refutation as they are the value judgments of those who disseminate them, and forcing people to deny them is an invasion of the domain of "word and thought" and "opinions and convictions," which are protected by Article 29 of the Russian federation Constitution....

2. The basis for examining the case of citizens' petitions to the RSFSR Constitutional Court is uncertainty revealed in the question of whether a particular law affecting citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms is in line with the Constitution. The directions contained in Part 1 of Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code on the right of a citizen or organization to demand through the court the refutation of reports denigrating their honor and dignity do not constitute evidence of such uncertainty. By establishing the means of defending one's honor and dignity through the civil law the aforementioned article serves as an important guarantee of the constitutional right to defend one's honor and good name as envisaged by Article 23 (Part 1) of the Russian Federation Constitution....

3. However, A.V. Kozyrev's petition to the Constitutional Court poses an important and topical question: how to ensure in each specific case that the requirement to defend people's honor and good name does not run counter to the interests of the free discussion of political problems in a democratic society.

When cases concerning the defense of honor and dignity are examined in courts of general jurisdiction it is necessary to decide whether the reports under examination fall within the bounds of political discussion, how to differentiate the dissemination of factually incorrect reports from political judgments, and whether the refutation of them by the court is possible.

Given the specific features of and difficulty involved in the investigation of these kinds of circumstance and guided by the task of preventing the delivery of unsound judicial rulings, the Russian Federation Supreme Court can exercise its constitutional powers and furnish the courts with clarifications concerning judicial practice on

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this category of cases. Courts of general jurisdiction are empowered and obliged to ensure that there is a proper balance between the exercise of the constitutional rights of the defense of honor and dignity, on the one hand, and freedom of expression, on the other.

Given the ideological and political diversity and the multiparty system enshrined in the Russian Federation Constitution (Article 13), the judicial authorities' aforementioned powers assume special practical significance at a time of active political election campaigns. However, the Constitutional Court, according to Part 3 of Article 3 of the Federal Constitutional Law "On the Russian Federation Constitutional Court," is not entitled to exercise those powers, since this is bound up with the establishment of the factual circumstances of a case which falls within the competence of other courts.

Based on the above and guided by Paragraph 1 of Part 1 of Article 43 and Part 1 of Article 79 of the Federal Constitutional Law "On the Russian Federation Constitutional Court," the Russian Federation Constitutional Court has ruled:

1. To refuse to examine Citizen Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev's petition.

2. The Russian Federation Constitutional Court's decision on this petition is final and not subject to appeal.

[Signed] T.G. Morshchakova, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court

Yu.D. Rudkin, judge and secretary of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court

[Morshchakova commentary] Why We Refused the Minister

The Constitutional Court's refusal to examine Citizen Kozyrev's petition has aroused perfectly understandable interest in society. Not only have well-known people figured in the case but when election battles are under way events of this kind are always given a political slant.

In our decision we stressed the importance and relevance of the issue raised by A. Kozyrev: How do you ensure that perfectly correct demands regarding the protection of someone's honor and dignity are not at variance with a person's right to express his opinion freely? But the point is that you can theorize on this topic endlessly but only a court of general jurisdiction is empowered to deliver a decision on each specific case.

At first glance, Minister Kozyrev would seem to have appealed to the right place, after all, he did raise the question of the correspondence between Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code (Article 152 in the new Russian Federation Civil Code) and the Russian Federation Constitution. The former allegedly encroaches on the freedom to disseminate reports and restricts the freedom of opinions and convictions. And he illustrated this by a specific example — the complaint filed by V. Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], against Kozyrev demanding that the honor and dignity insulted by his opponent be restored by judicial means.

But let us examine more closely what the aforementioned Article 7 of the Russian Federation Civil Code demands. It presupposes that reports disseminated by the defendant, if they impugn the honor and dignity of the petitioner, are subject to refutation. If they are mendacious, falsified, or distorted. That is to say, it is solely a question of facts which can be verified by judicial procedure.

Zhirinovskiy, however, demanded that the opinion of Kozyrev, who had described the LDPR's political platform and the views of its leaders, be refuted. That is to say, Zhirinovskiy himself attacked the freedom granted to Kozyrev by the Constitution to express his own opinion. Do you see the difference?

I concede that various kinds of description can be used in political discussion. Some of them could also be based on distorted facts. Therefore, it is necessary to study and verify them in each specific case and prove whether they occurred or not. But such specific situations are examined not by the Constitutional Court but by a general court. That is where you must turn in such cases.

Zhirinovskiy's complaints against Kozyrev did not concern facts. The foreign minister did not disseminate any reports about his opponent's conduct or actions. A political discussion took place between them which, naturally, was accompanied by certain assessments. According to the law on the Constitutional Court we are simply not entitled to examine questions concerning the factual circumstances of cases if they fall within the competence of other courts. That is to say, according to the law, we are not entitled to examine Kozyrev's case and were forced to refer it to courts of general jurisdiction.

But, given the importance of the question raised and the specific features of the current political situation, we could not simply dismiss this problem either. We therefore adopted a detailed decision in which we drew the attention of all potential participants in similar disputes to certain features of such cases. At the present time courts of general jurisdiction bear a very great responsibility because they have to distinguish each time between whether they are dealing with something that can be refuted as not corresponding to reality or as

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insulting to the petitioner or whether they are dealing with acceptable forms of political confrontation. Here we have advised the courts of general jurisdiction that they must not be guided merely by the statements of one party but must thoroughly investigate the complaints lodged.

I cannot rule out that the number of such cases could increase at the present time. But I do not think that anyone will misuse the court for purposes of political publicity.

Judicial practice must be such that all potential participants in such legal examinations appreciate that not everything can be refuted in court. Every one of us is entitled, within the bounds of decency, to express their own opinion, including political assessments, and dragging us through the courts for this constitutes an attack on the freedom to express your own opinion.

Some people have sought to draw parallels between the "Kozyrev-Zhirinovskiy" conflict and the headline-grabbing Grachev-Poegli case. I would not equate them. In the former case we are dealing with the political assessment of opinions, in the latter with the political consequences of disseminating reports, that is to say, facts. In my view, it would have been far more justified to examine that suit, too, by civil rather than criminal procedure.

Radioactive Package Posed No 'Actual Threat'

MM2411164395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Svetlana Galkina: "Mysterious Parcel Was Not Dangerous"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NTV television's evening news bulletin on 23 November reported that a container with a radioactive substance inside it had been found in the capital's Izmaylovskiy Park. It was even suggested that it might be Shamil Basayev's long-promised "gift" to Moscow.

Colonel Yevgeniy Kistanov, chief of Moscow Civil Defense and Emergencies Staff, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent that subunits from all the services — police, emergency medical aid, firefighters, a city staff rapid reaction team, specialist consultants from the Russian Emergencies Ministry, experts from the "Radon" science and production association, and Federal Security Service [FSB] officers, — descended on the park. What they feared most was that the package might contain an explosive. But a dog-handler arrived with his specially trained dog at 2230 hours and dispelled the anxiety — there was no explosive in the parcel.

The plastic parcel wrapped in black adhesive tape was radiating 800 microroentgens per hour at a distance of 2-3 meters, which did not pose a danger to people in the vicinity. It was not until the counter got to within 1 cm of a "shutter" on the container that was partly open that it registered two roentgens. To get a life-threatening dose you would have to be right up against it for 12 hours.

The parcel, which was leaning against a tree and was covered in a light dusting of snow, was not opened on the spot, but was placed in a special lead container, with all due precautions being taken, and transported to a special FSB laboratory. The entire operation took around one hour.

City Staff Chief Yevgeniy Kistanov assured your IZVESTIYA correspondent that the container did not pose an actual threat to Muscovites' lives. But Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich did not rule out the possibility of a source of radioactivity being brought into Moscow. But it would be discovered immediately since there are 45 sensors in the capital monitoring the radiation background in the city around the clock.

The FSB has announced that the container held cesium-137, which is used for the calibration of instruments and cannot endanger human life. The radiation background in Moscow at the moment is within the normal range.

Police Step Up Efforts To Prevent Terrorism

LD2411163595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1354 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (INTERFAX) — Moscow law-enforcement bodies are taking additional measures in connection with the frequent finds of explosive and dangerous substances in the city. They are working to prevent terrorist acts and other crimes, head of the Moscow Interior Department's Division for Public Order Vladimir Popov told INTERFAX.

A new "A" boundary has been formed on perimeter of Moscow center. Protected by police patrols and traffic police, it was instructed to toughen control on city entrances and form additional police pickets reinforced with municipal police officers.

All district interior departments were instructed to raise vigilance of their officers, especially patrol officers, in crowded areas and crossroads of railroads and highways.

Moscow police did not receive special instructions in connection with the radioactive container found in Moscow's Izmaylovo park the day before, said the official.

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Basin Replaces Surov as Chechnya Commission Chief

MK2411135495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "A New Chief Has Been Placed in Charge of Rebuilding Chechnya. Construction Minister Yefim Basin Replaced Petr Surov"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cadre reshuffles in the government have begun. Petr Surov, director of the Investment and Construction Department, is no longer holding the post of first deputy chairman of the government commission for the restoration of the Chechen economy. In an interview with SEGODNYA the former first deputy chairman has said that he is still not aware about the reasons for his dismissal. The decree whereby Surov was replaced by Construction Minister Yefim Basin as commission head [last two words as published] was signed on 5 November. However, Surov himself did not learn about this decision until 20 November.

"For the sake of fairness" Surov observed that he had tendered his resignation both as government department chief and commission deputy chairman two months earlier. The reasons for that decision were not directly related to Chechnya: Surov was not content with the "whole way work is organized in the government." But at the time, according to the department head, some cabinet ministers talked him out of that reckless move.

In spite of his ignorance about the reasons for his dismissal, Surov supposed that a key role had been played by his persistence in "pressing for funds to rebuild Chechnya's economy." He is convinced that he has a major credit for "salvaging" the schedule of rebuilding Chechnya in September and October. In November, however, when funding was again short, Surov, in his words, "possibly with undue nervousness," demanded that the restoration plan be fulfilled.

Surov refused to appraise his successor in the post of first deputy.

Military Issues

Aspects of Belarus/U.S. Su-27 Deal Discussed

MM2311102695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Viktor Litovkin: "Su-27: Flight Interrupted. IZVESTIYA Investigates Latest Arms Trade Scandal"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Scandal in Komsomolsk

An ITAR-TASS report from Komsomolsk-na-Amure told of the latest conflict involving the trade in modern Russian weapons. "Following the scandalous sale in the United States last year of a new air defense missile system, it seems as though Belarus is once again becoming the arena for a dubious deal," the item says. "This time two of Russia's best Su-27 air defense fighters, which are currently in the town of Baranovichi, are to be sent abroad."

Akhmetshin, the news agency's correspondent, learned that documents on the deal had been passed to the aircraft manufacturers in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, where the fighters are assembled, and to Gennadiy Seleznev, deputy chairman of the Russian State Duma, who was visiting the Far East. "The aircraft manufacturers," the report states, "also have reliable information on the forthcoming long-term leasing by foreign countries of a large consignment of fighters fitted with equipment for tracking aircraft during air combat." The words of Sergey Kilfin, deputy chief designer at the Far East Experimental Design Bureau branch of the "OKB imeni Sukhogo" Joint-Stock Company, are quoted: "The forthcoming deal will damage not only Russia's defense capability, but exports of Russian military aircraft."

Quiet As Partisans

As always in the arms trade, officials have been trying to distance themselves from the scandal. And that is understandable — such deals are usually prepared "on the quiet", they are talked of (and even then in a whisper) only after all the contracts have been signed, otherwise competitors might get wind of things and leave us holding the baby. So it is no surprise that the "Rosvooruzheniye" State Company, which the news agency's Moscow correspondent approached for an explanation, was brief and to the point — the company is "not involved in any possible deal."

Nor could our newspaper find out anything from the Sukhoy representative in Moscow. "This is the first we have heard of it," the Experimental Design Bureau said. The same thing was stated by the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry's Main Administration for Military-Technical Cooperation. And Yuriy Ivanov, acting general director of the Gagarin Aircraft Construction Association in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, told Boris Reznik, our Far East correspondent, that "there is not a word of truth in Akhmetshin's report. We have not passed any documents on to Seleznev, since we never had any. Moreover, we know nothing about the sale of these two Su-27's or about the alleged long-term leasing by foreign countries of a large consignment of these fighters."

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The Truth Will Come Out

I can imagine that the acting general director of the aircraft manufacturing plant may not know what is happening at the enterprise under his jurisdiction, but it would be naive to deny some obvious facts. The plans to sell the two Su-27's to the Americans and, even more so, the plans to use the fighters as part of a leasing program do exist. Documents on this are available at the Komsomolsk-na-Amure plant.

Here is just one of them, admittedly not "passed on to Deputy Seleznev" but secretly conveyed to him in his hotel room. "We hereby inform you," states a telegram addressed to plant General Director Viktor Merkulov, "that as a result of the work done an opportunity has arisen to use export versions of the Su-27 on a long-term lease in various parts of the world. The total number of aircraft leased could reach 15-20. We have currently managed to obtain approval from the Russian Government, the Defense Ministry, and other federal organs. Work is planned to begin...."

Attached to the telegram is a draft contract between the plant and the Gromov Flight Testing Institute near Moscow (it was the institute which drew up the Russo-U.S. leasing contract). This also sets out the requirements for the fighters to be sent abroad. The length of the lease is given as 12 months with a subsequent one-year extension. It is also planned that the fighters will be serviced by technical personnel from the Far Eastern enterprise and by USAF technicians.

The telegram carries a note written by Director Merkulov: "To Comrade S.M. Kilfin. Please look closely into this and discuss your thoughts with me."

What Kind of Telegram Was It?

We were not present during Kilfin's conversation with the director. But, judging from known information, his response to the lease contract was very negative.

Yet the contract promised to bring the plant a big profit. It envisaged the creation of an international center for training other countries' pilots on supersonic aircraft (Russian, American, and French fighters and ground-attack aircraft) or for retraining them on Su-27's manufactured at Komsomolsk-na-Amure.

This program was pushed by the test pilots at the Gromov Flight Testing Institute. It was coordinated with the Americans and with all interested Russian departments — "Rosvooruzheniye," the Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau, the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry's Main Administration for Military-Technical Cooperation, the General Staff, the Foreign Intelligence Service, and the Federal Security Service, and it was approved by the Interdepartmental Commission for Military-Technical Cooperation headed by First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets. IZVESTIYA is familiar with all these documents signed by the leaders of the relevant departments.

The idea was very interesting. Not only would its implementation have yielded a lot of income for Russian aircraft enterprises and design bureaus — which, like the Gagarin Association in the Far East, are currently standing idle with neither work not the means of existence — it would also have done a major job of boosting our fighter and ground-attack aircraft in world markets.

Our aircraft salesmen have never been scared of open competition with the F-15, F-18, or Mirage. The Su-27, although flying for 18 years now, is still one of the best multirole fighters in the world. It has proved that repeatedly.

But while programs were being coordinated between different Russian departments, and while an airfield was being selected to serve as the international center for training other countries' pilots (apart from Russia and the United States, Egypt, India, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia were staking a claim to it) time was passing. Without explaining its reasons (perhaps out of fear of the commercial damage which U.S. aircraft companies could suffer as a result of competition from Russian combat aircraft, or perhaps because of some other reason), the Gromov Flight Testing Institute's American partner suddenly walked away from the contract.

A Punch Below the Belt

The Flight Testing Institute believes that its contract with the Americans could have been torpedoed by rivals. Not American or French rivals but our own home-grown rivals from Russia or the near abroad. Firms and officials acting as middlemen in the arms trade, driving down prices and breaking up specific deals, have multiplied so fast that they can barely survive.

Which one's "handiwork" was seen in this instance is a matter for speculation. As is the question of who had an interest in leaking the secret information on the planned deals and who slipped the documents on them into a State Duma deputy's hotel room. But one thing is clear: The interests of these people, strangely enough, coincided with the view of the forthcoming contracts held by no ordinary man at the enterprise — the experimental design bureau's deputy chief designer.

Something else is clear too — representatives of Belarus' "Beltekheksport" Company (who were preparing

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to follow up their well-known surface-to-air missile system instrumentation unit [pribornyy stend] with the sale to the United States of two Su-27 fighters) had no interest in leaking the information. The aircraft were numbers 2717 and 2718. They were left behind at the Baranovichi airfield after the collapse of the Union and have not been flown recently.

The reasons are known to specialists — recently 800 military pilots have left Belarus and are now guarding Russian skies. That is more than 60 percent of the Belarusian Air Force. Even those who have stayed behind have nothing to fly. There is neither aviation fuel nor spares for the 30 MiG-29's or the two Su-27's. Nor is there any money to buy these things from Belarus' neighbors. What was to be done?

Minsk decided to sell the equipment while there were still buyers around. But Russia refused to take the aircraft — it had nowhere to put its own. Then willing buyers were found in the United States. One firm (its name is contained in IZVESTIYA's dossier) offered $15 million for each fighter. That was considerably less than the Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau could have gotten with the help of "Rosvooruzheniye" for new Su-27's, but it was quite enough for the Republic of Belarus, whose air defense veterans are freezing in the rain and snow.

Komsomolsk-na-Amure would also get a share of the contract — 40 percent of the value. The fighters could not be sent abroad without being overhauled by the plant, and, as in the case of the lease, without being reequipped with Western avionics. But active opposition began to be mounted to this deal too. Both in Moscow and in the Far East.

"Rosvooruzheniye" accused Minsk of dumping, and Komsomolsk-na-Amure — we know this from the ITAR-TASS telegram — even accused it of "damaging Russia's defense capability" and its combat aircraft exports. Although any sober-minded specialist understands that neither of these claims is true.

The only thing secret about the Su-27 is its tactics — that is, the means of using it in actual combat. And the sale of one or two aircraft not only will not reduce or hinder their further export but will actually "bring with it" airfield infrastructure, equipment for technical operating units, shipments of spare parts, and the training of specialists — not to mention further commercial interest. Initial price concessions often ultimately result in a threefold or more gain.

But the problem is that the officials in charge of the arms trade in our country often find it unbeneficial to think in terms of future prospects. They want to get dividends right now rather than planting a seed. As is the case in our home-grown competitive struggle, where anything goes — as in the proverb "to cut off your nose to spite your face."

...As far as we are aware, the contract for the sale of the two old Su-27's to the United States by "Beltekheksport" has not yet been torpedoed. But nobody can say where interdepartmental and interpersonality rivalry will leave it.

Medvedev Explains Dismissal of Military Budget Chief

LD2511095695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (INTERFAX) — A decree to dismiss Col. Gen. Vasily Vorobyev from the post of head of the Defense Ministry's Main Department for Military Budget and Financing did not come as a surprise to the ministry and the general, presidential spokesman Sergey Medvedev told INTERFAX.

The general was dismissed for non-fulfillment of government resolutions, namely for delays in financing housing construction, food purchases and energy payments. Vorobyev was repeatedly criticized for delayed transfer of payment to enterprises working to the order of the Defense Ministry, said Medvedev.

The government and controlling bodies repeatedly called attention to the personal responsibility of Col. Gen. Vorobyev for two to three month delays in payment of salaries to servicemen and civilian staffers of the Defense Ministry, he said. Salaries were delayed after the Defense Ministry received money from the budget, stressed the press secretary.

Military district commanders repeatedly criticized the general's scheme and mechanism of military unit financing, he said. They called attention to money transferred to military districts and units in evasion of their commanders.

According to Medvedev, the President signed the decree on Vorobyev's dismissal based on documents submitted by Russian Defense Minister General of the Army Pavel Grachev.

Federal Assembly

Shumeyko Asks Yeltsin To Suspend Privatization Auctions

LD2411184195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) - Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko

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asked President Boris Yeltsin to suspend auctions of state-owned stakes in Russia's major industrial enterprises until the December 17 elections. He sent a relevant letter to the president Friday afternoon, he told a press conference at the Interfax main office in Moscow Friday.

According to Shumeyko, "one cannot do serious work in privatization of major companies which comprise the country's national wealth and influence its strategic interests during an election campaign when many aim to win it." He spoke in the wake of two auctions to sell state-owned stakes in Norilsk Nickel and Nafta-Moskva.

Candidates can resort to any means to win the elections, Shumeyko said. "However, not all means would justify the ends: we have to at least suspend [auctions] for two or three months," he added. Once through the elections, the issue may be tackled again "with a cool head," he remarked.

Shumeyko referred to the oil company YUKOS as an example. To participate in the auction, contenders are to have $570 million, including $370 million deposited with the Finance Ministry, he noted. "None of the Russian banks has these $570 million to submit overnight," he underlined.

Shumeyko Says Federation Council Will Reject Duma Bill

LD2411201495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) — The Federation Council will not approve the law "On the Procedure for Forming the Federation Council" passed by the State Duma last week, Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko told a press conference at the Interfax main office in Moscow Friday.

Such a bill may be adopted only after the Constitutional Court considers the presidential request on how to interpret the term "forming" with respect to the upper house of Russia's parliament, he added.

Shumeyko criticized the Duma-approved law. "There is a purely human insult: the law "On the Elections of Deputies of the State Duma" consists of 72 articles, while the draft law 'On the Procedure for Forming the Federation Council' contains only four."

"Are we 18 times worse or what?" he remarked.

Stressing that a federation is an association of constituent members and federal authorities, Shumeyko said "the law should reflect the federative nature of the Russian state."

The draft law introduced by State Duma Deputy Chairman Artur Chilingarov envisions composing the Federation Council of popularly elected governors and parliamentarians from constituent members of the federation. Regions having appointed rather than elected governors are to hold their elections by December 1996. The document does not provide for the presence of federal officials in the Federation Council.

Chances Slim for Shumeyko's House Formation Plan

MK2511103195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Yelena Tregubova: "Vladimir Shumeyko Summons Senators for an Emergency Session. The Speaker Is Inclined To Trade the Place of Presidential Representative for an Opportunity To Represent Governors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As your SEGODNYA correspondent was advised at the Federation Council Press Center, Speaker Vladimir Shumeyko yesterday sent the senators letters asking them to meet for an extraordinary session on 28 November. Shumeyko attributes his request to the fact that the State Duma "at its upcoming sessions is planning to consider an amendment to the 'Law on Elections for State Duma Deputies' and the latest version of the draft law 'On Procedures for Forming the Federation Council.'" At the end of next week the Federation Council's power to endorse or reject the Duma-approved senate formation law expires; otherwise, this document will be considered approved by both houses of parliament and will automatically go to the president for signature.

Yuriy Algunov, the senate's press center chief, presented Shumeyko's position on the law on the formation of the Federation Council: "The fate of the Federation Council should be decided by the Federation Council itself, while the regions should have the power to decide whom to delegate to the upper house, and how." Deciphered, this phrase signifies Vladimir Shumeyko's refusal to support the version of the law recently approved by the Duma. Shumeyko's "alternative" draft enables regional leaders to delegate their representatives to the upper house, chosen at their own discretion. The Duma document allows only actual Federation component leaders to be senators.

Furthermore, Shumeyko was dissatisfied with the Duma draft's failure to mention the introduction into the Federation Council of "two members — presidential representatives," hoping to become one of them. True, judging by yesterday's statement by the senate press service chief, Shumeyko's position on this point has

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somewhat changed. "If the Federation Council and the State Duma find common ground on all other matters pertaining to this law, then the question of delegating two federal representatives to the Federation Council, appointed by the president, will not be a stumbling block," Yuriy Algunov assured, and promised on Vladimir Shumeyko's behalf that the senate "will show flexibility on this question." Malicious tongues hastened to attribute this "flexibility" of the speaker to the fact that if regional heads are given the power to send their envoys to the Federation Council, the way for Shumeyko to the new house will not be closed: He has repeatedly cited "the purely hypothetical example" of the possibility of becoming "a representative of the Kaliningrad [Oblast] governor in the Federation Council."

As for his hopes for the post of "presidential representative," apparently they were partially dispelled by Sergey Filatov's recent casual remark that "the presence of this provision in the law is not critical for the president." Moreover, judging by the presidential chief of staff's latest statements, Shumeyko's hopes for approval of the other points of his draft may also be dubious: According to Filatov, the Duma version has been coordinated with the president, and he believes this version will also be approved by the senators.

Duma Deputies Demand Inquiry Into Gold Reserve

LD2611182395 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] State Duma deputies have proposed to set up a parliamentary fact-finding commission to look into Russia's gold reserve. The deputies intend to hear the issue by inviting authorized officials and independent experts. This proposal was put forward by Viktor Ilyukhin, the chairman of the State Duma Security Committee.

[Begin Ilyukhin recording] Today we have quite significant grounds to say that Russia's national wealth, national and natural resources, and capital are being looted. Our monetary system and financial system has suffered great damage, too. According to official statistics, at the beginning of 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia inherited a gold reserve of 2,500 tonnes. Today, as of 1 April 1995, the gold reserve was 120 tonnes. I am stressing — from 2,500 tonnes to 120 tonnes. Not long ago the Russian finance minister said that the gold reserve was only 115 tonnes.

Judging by the data that has been widely published in the press, during the shock therapy reform a total of 900 tonnes of gold has been exported from Russia. A question arises — what was it spent on, this gold, where did it disappear? Have we built another Baykal Amur Railway, a VAZ [Volga auto works], a KAMAZ [Kama auto works]? Have we built a new Magnitka [metallurgy giant], or may be living standards, the social and economic standards of our citizens have improved. No, on the contrary, the impoverishment of almost 120 million Russians has almost reached its critical level. This is why I think that a practical absence of any gold reserve makes Russia vulnerable in all respects — its financial system, and makes it vulnerable on the whole. Our ability to resist acts of economic and financial sabotage staged by other states is in the scope of Russia's national security. [end recording]

So, Russia's gold reserve has evaporated. What is left cannot be called a reserve for such a country as Russia. We can see from this interview that neither experts, nor the public, nor officials know anything of the reserve's whereabouts. The setting up of a parliamentary commission is more than timely. One would not like the results of its work to be shelved, but to be widely spread. It should be done not to square accounts among the politicians, otherwise we will never find answers to those most sacramental questions: Who when, and why spends Russia's gold reserve?

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Politics, Terrorism, Elections

Yeltsin Agrees on Chechnya 'Special Status'

LD2211133495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1258 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin agreed that Chechnya should have a special status as part of the Russian Federation. He approved the intention of the new Chechen leadership to extricate the republic from the crisis by peaceful means and said he "will help in this in every way."

According to the press service of the head of state, Boris Yeltsin gave this assurance today to Doku Zavgayev, head of Chechnya, who visited him in the Central Clinical Hospital.

Shumeyko: 'Special Status' Unconstitutional

LD2411183895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) — Chechnya cannot constitutionally enjoy a special status within Russia, Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko told a press conference at the Interfax main office in Moscow Friday.

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According to Shumeyko, the constitution provides only for a power-sharing treaty between Moscow and Groznyy.

"If anyone says that Tatarstan enjoys a special status within Russia, I will disagree. In full accordance with the Russian Constitution, Kazan concluded a treaty on delegating powers. However, it does not say a word about a special status," he added.

Zavgayev Recounts Meeting With Yeltsin

LD2511135695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1250 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, November 25 (Itar-Tass) - Chechen government head Doku Zavgayev has described as "extremely important" his recent meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

He said at a meeting of executive officials in Grozny that the meeting with Yeltsin had yielded even more than he expected.

Zavgayev relates this to his long personal knowledge of Yeltsin, whom he first met when Yeltsin was Communist Party secretary in Sverdlovsk.

Zavgayev said one of agreements they struck with Yeltsin was to draft an accord between Russia and Chechnya.

"The first paragraph of this interim document will define a special status of the Chechen republic within Russia," Zavgayev said.

He said other tentative accords include measures to stop all hostilities in Chechnya.

He quoted Yeltsin's agreement to decree a special 1996 restoration programme for Chechnya.

As for the elections to be conducted in Chechnya on December 17, Zavgayev reaffirmed his stance, saying that the earlier the elections are held, the earlier is a tool obtained to bring order in Chechnya.

According to Zavgayev, there is no power whatever in Chechnya now. What is happening in Chechnya is anarchy, he said.

Arms Reduction in South After Settlement

LD2211191295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 22 Nov 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (Interfax) — Russia's determination to have more arms in its flank areas, primarily the south, than provided for by the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] treaty is prompted by force majeure circumstances and is evidently temporary.

A high-ranking official from the Russian Foreign Ministry told Interfax Wednesday Russia is working for an increase in the permitted quota of conventional armaments in the North Caucasian military district, due to the events in Chechnya.

As soon as a complete settlement is reached, Moscow can return to the question of reducing conventional armaments in the region, the diplomat said.

He said the 1990 CFE treaty was drafted and signed in absolutely different geopolitical and military conditions.

"The events in Chechnya have demonstrated that the prescribed number of tanks, armored vehicles and combat planes in the area does not meet the current needs of the Russian Federation," the official said.

Moreover, Chechnya and Nagorno-Karabakh are probably the only places in the CIS where foreign inspectors are not controlling the implementation of the CFE treaty, due to the absence of security guarantees. When the treaty was written, nobody foresaw the possibility of such conflicts, the official stressed.

The diplomat said Russia had complied with its CFE obligations to cut conventional forces in its European part by November 17, the treaty deadline.

Only the flank issue remains unsettled, he said. CFE member-states are negotiating the issue in Moscow and Vienna, he added.

According to the diplomat, the talks are difficult, though there is hope to reach a compromise decision.

Progress already achieved is that the western partners have realized that the flank limitations set for Russia do not conform to the new military and political realities, and it is necessary to look for a mutually acceptable way out to preserve the treaty, he said.

At the same time, some NATO states fear that the proposed flank adjustments will create an unwanted precedent for the future. "In addition, a number of

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states, particularly Turkey, fear that Russia will use the Chechnya events as a pretext to sharply reinforce its military group in the North Caucasus, endangering its southern neighbor' security," he added.

The diplomat said Russia does not want to pile up arms without control and endanger anyone's security. "Our only goal is to adapt the treaty to the objective circumstances and Russia's needs to ensure national security," he remarked.

The diplomat said the consultations on the flank issue will produce an additional document to be considered at a special conference in May 1996.

Military Materiel Rail Delivery Halted

LD2411152295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — The delivery of military equipment for Dudayev gunmen to Chechnya by rail via the territory of one of the CIS republics has been checked.

An illegal depot of new caterpillar equipment manufactured on a basis of army trucks was discovered in a storage of vegetables in Moscow by staffers of the main agency of the investigation department of the Russian Interior Ministry.

Law enforcement bodies believe that one of well-organised channels for supplying Chechen illegal armed units with equipment has been closed as a result of this operation, an informed source in the Interior Ministry told Itar-Tass on Friday.

The source said 18 caterpillar trucks from the consignment recently stolen from a Russian plant on forged payments documents to a sum of 3.2 billion roubles was discovered. A middleman in the deal, a 38-year-old resident of one of the republics of the CIS, who was accompanying the equipment was detained.

The operation to check the dispatch of equipment was conducted by Russian Interior Ministry investigation agency jointly with the investigation agency of the region where catapillar trucks were manufactured. Criminal proceedings will be instituted.

Dudayev Supporters End Groznyy Rally

LD2611161695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1548 GMT 26 Nov 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, November 26 (Itar-Tass) — Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters rallied in Groznyy on Sunday to mark the first anniversary of an abortive attempt to seize the Chechen capital by the anti-Dudayev opposition forces led by Umar Avturkhanov in November 1994.

About 1,000 demonstrators gathered on Square of Friendship and marched in columns to the city centre, carrying green flags, portraits of Dudayev, and slogans demanding a withdrawal of Russian troops and independence for Chechnya.

By 16:00, the rally had broken up and the remaining 200 demonstrators had moved from the "Dudayev Palace" destroyed during the war to a nearby movie house.

The rally was organised by three movements and parties which favour Chechnya's independence, Said Abekkhadzhiyev, a spokesman for the public association the Path of Islam, told Itar-Tass.

Basayev Indicated Container Location

LD2411155895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1537 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) - Chechen field commander Shamil Basayev himself told NTV correspondent Yelena Masyuk in Chechnya on Tuesday that a container holding nuclear materials was buried on the premises of Ismaylovsky Park in northeastern Moscow, president of Independent TV company (NTV) Igor Malashenko told Interfax on Friday.

He said Masyuk and her group could not fly out from Chechnya to Moscow on Wednesday, but the first thing she did next morning was to visit the park and help locate the container.

Malashenko said that after filming the site, NTV informed the federal security service (FSB) about the looming danger.

He said the incident was yet another indication of government inability to protect its citizens.

Malashenko said the authorities had tried to hush up the Chernobyl tragedy when it occurred, though the two situations differ in scope. "In spite of repeated media warnings to competent bodies about possible subversion by Chechen terrorists, we have once again been made witness to their blatant ineptitude and inability to protect the public against the looming threat," he said.

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Mikhaylov Fears Terrorism Campaign

LD2411192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) — Russian Minister for Nationalities and Regional Policy Vyacheslav Mikhaylov said at the State Duma today that "there is reason to believe that Dudayev's forces may increase terrorist and sabotage acts in Chechnya."

Mikhaylov delivered a report to the State Duma regarding talks on settlement in Chechnya.

He admitted that he could not say for sure whether the elections of the head of the Chechen Republic and elections to the Russian State Duma in Chechnya set for December 17 would consolidate the Caucasian republic or on the contrary aggravate the situation there.

When asked by a deputy from North Ossetia, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, why other republics, including these in the North Caucasus, do not participate in talks between Moscow and Groznyy, Mikhaylov said such an approach could be efficient. However, he said he deemed it necessary "to form a single Chechen side rather than hold talks with representatives of separate political forces in Chechnya as it was earlier done."

"Combatting bandit formations in Chechnya is becoming more difficult," Mikhaylov said. "The so-called popular avengers, who earlier denied support to Dzhokhar Dudayev (Chechnya's separatist leader - IF), have joined Dudayev's militants," he said. Mikhaylov added that foreign mercenaries were also fighting on the Dudayev side.

When asked when Dudayev and rebel commander Shamil Basayev will be arrested, Mikhaylov said this question "should be addressed to corresponding organs." Basayev led a hostage-taking raid on the Russian town of Buddenovsk this summer.

State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin said that following Mikhaylov's report the State Duma planned to adopt a resolution on the situation in Chechnya on December 6.

Separatists Form Committees To Prevent Elections

LD2411192495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov 24 (Interfax) — More than 45 cities and villages of Chechnya have formed committees for prevention of elections, an assembly of social and political parties and movements of Chechnya stated Friday. The assembly also supported the pull-out of Russian troops from Chechnya.

According to the assembly, all 400 villages of Chechnya have started to create such committees.

The assembly held its meeting in Groznyy Friday.

'Tough Measures' Needed To Ensure Elections

LD2511115995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 25 (Itar-Tass) - The Russian Interior Ministry, especially units of interior forces, must take tough measures to ensure security during elections in the Chechen Republic on December 17 in connection with expected deterioration of the situation in that republic, said Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov here on Saturday.

He spoke with journalists before the start of an enlarged meeting of the Military Council of Russian Interior Troops called to discuss results of service and combat operations of troops in 1995 and tasks for 1996.

Turning to a possibility of disruption of the polls in Chechnya, Kulikov stressed: "I would not overestimate this threat. I do not believe that they will be disrupted".

The minister expressed hope that general Anatoli Romanov (Eds: Romanov was seriously wounded in Chechnya by a terrorist act and is still in coma at a Moscow military hospital) will recuperate.

"All of us are waiting for his quick return to the ranks. All are waiting for this — from the minister to the private," Kulikov continued.

Lieutenant-General Viktor Gafarov, acting commander of Interior Forces, described the situation in Chechnya as tense but under control. According to his forecasts, the situation in the republic will not change substantially during the 1995-1996 winter.

Rebels will continue individual terrorist acts, but the general does not expect large-scale combat operations, since gunmen do not have either forces, or funds for this.

Gafarov thinks it expedient to withdraw troops from Chechnya in the near future. "If troops are withdrawn now, a civil war will break out in Chechnya," he added.

Lieutenant-General Stanislav Kavun, deputy commander of Interior Troops for personnel training, confirmed that the situation in Chechnya is tense by citing data on losses of troops.

He reported that the Chechen conflict killed 366 and wounded 1,780 troops in the line of duty in the republic.

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The general stressed that troops suffered the greatest losses during the declaration of the so-called moratoria on combat operations.

Turning to the question of military discipline, Kavun noted that it is at a required level on the whole. There were no refusals to fulfill combat orders.

At the same time, he said that 208 crimes were registered in the Interior Troops, 80 percent of them are absences without leave. This type of crimes especially increased in the recent time, Kavun stressed.

Zavgayev: Elections To Be Held 17 Dec

MK2511134895 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 47/123 23-29 Nov 95 (Signed to press 22 Nov 95) p 2

[Interview with Chechen leader Doku Zavgayev by Aleksandr Trushin: "Doku Zavgayev: The Dudayevites Do Not Control Anything. The Head of the Chechen Republic Arrives in Moscow To Meet With Russian Leaders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Trushin] Is it planned to postpone elections in Chechnya to a later date in connection with the heightening of tensions?

[Zavgayev] No, this decision has been made by the Supreme Council, and the elections will take place 17 December. We should heed the view of the majority, not individual politicians. People are already sick and tired of this lawlessness.

[Trushin] Are you going to announce your bid for the post of head of the republic?

[Zavgayev] No, I am not laying claim to power; I will not engage in self-nomination. But if people ask me to run, I will not refuse.

[Trushin] What are the status and the powers of the head of the republic?

[Zavgayev] According to the law passed by the Supreme Council of the Chechen Republic, this is the top official heading the executive branch of power.

[Trushin] How will the conduct of elections and the protection of voters, polling stations, and candidates be ensured?

[Zavgayev] Appropriate security measures will be taken. The republic's Internal Affairs Ministry has enough forces to do so. (According to our information, there are 7,000 police in Groznyy — Editor.) But the people themselves in any community will not allow the elections to be thwarted. The Chechens have been denied the right to elect authorities and to express their views for five years.

[Trushin] Dudayev and his followers have refused to take part in the elections...

[Zavgayev] This is their business. No one can ban them from running or to force them to do so.

[Trushin] How many rayons will take part in the elections?

[Zavgayev] All of them.

[Trushin] Even those that are currently controlled by Dudayev's loyalists?

[Zavgayev] They do not control anything. A majority of the population will turn out to vote and express their views on specific candidates.

[Trushin] Recently, presidential representative Oleg Lobov has spoken about broadening the range of participants in the talks. What proposals will you be bringing to the talks?

[Zavgayev] As the government of the republic, we are ready for a dialogue with the people. We have no other way but to find a compromise between all those who are engaged in the conflict — on condition of disarming the illegal formations.

[Trushin] It was said at a meeting held by Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets the other day that the restoration work in Chechnya proceeds in a disastrously inadequate manner. How do you think things actually stand?

[Zavgayev] I agree with the assessment. There are many reasons for that. An unstable situation, the threat of crime, deficient economic ties — this list can go on and on. One of the most important problems is funding — the republic received only 22 percent of the money allocated to it. On 22 November, I had a meeting with President Yeltsin. I hope that we will get thing moving.

Zavgayev on Republic's Prospects

MM2711092195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 95 p 1

[Interview with Chechen Republic head Doku Zavgayev by Viktor Vodolazhskiy; date not given: "Doku Zavgayev: Yes, Elections in Chechnya. And on 17 December"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Should elections of deputies to the State Duma and of the Chechen government head be held? After all, many well-known politicians are currently in favor of postponing the elections, saying that they will lead to disturbances, that 'we will be spending a long time writing about the burning down of polling places'," I asked Chechen Republic head Doku Zavgayev after a press conference in Moscow.

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"I believe elections are necessary — and on 17 December. There is no real authority in the republic at the moment. Therefore, elections of the leader of Chechnya and State Duma deputies from our republic must be held as quickly as possible, and this will provide us with legitimate authorities and an instrument enabling us to fix a life that has been destroyed by the crisis. There are 350 population centers in Chechnya and I do not believe that entire areas will not vote.

"Despite the fact that the situation in Chechnya remains tense, the first reassuring signs have appeared and the possibility of the resumption of major hostilities is becoming less and less real. I believe there is every reason to say that we are close to civil peace. In the first place because we have managed to channel the talks into an intra-Chechen dialogue, since we succeeded in making direct contact with the leaders of the warring groupings and convincing them of the futility of war. We have also managed to soothe the rally fever.

"At the meeting with Boris Yeltsin I received his full support and understanding. The main tasks I discussed with the Russian president boiled down to preventing a resumption of hostilities, to reducing this likelihood to zero. A special Chechnya recovery program must be adopted. First of all we must resurrect the ruined economy and create new jobs. Indeed in recent years the republic has essentially become unemployed. This is particularly important for young people. After all, what have they seen in the past four years? Lies, deceit, treachery, war. The hopelessness of the situation is affecting young people's morale.

"There are 80,000 young men of conscription age in the republic. What is to be done with them? It is an acute problem. But it can be solved. We are discussing the question of creating special military construction units to restore what was destroyed by the war.

"As for Chechnya's special status as part of Russia, I would stress that, of course, it cannot copy Tatarstan or Bashkortostan. The main difference is an economic one. The war has brought economic ruin, so special construction, customs, tax, and other programs are needed.

"Then there is a law. During my meetings with gunmen and field commanders I have heard them say that they are prepared to lay down their arms, but guarantees are need for those who do not have blood on their hands. I can confidently say — and I talked about this with Yeltsin — that they will not be persecuted by the federal authorities and they can rely on our protection from the intransigent types in Chechnya itself. I am sure that as soon as a law is adopted to that effect people will start to surrender weapons."

Chernomyrdin Meets Petersburg Youth, Students

MM2411124695 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 95 Weekend Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Alekhin: "Meetings on the Banks of the Neva"]

[FBIS Translated Text] St. Petersburg — Russian Federation Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin arrived in St. Petersburg yesterday on a two-day visit.

From Vnukovo Airport the prime minister headed for Children's Infectious Diseases Hospital No. 5. Construction workers and medical personnel briefed him on the work of the clinic, whose first phase will be handed over in mid-December this year.

The first day of Chernomyrdin's visit to the city on the Neva was, as the saying goes, packed to the limit. The government chairman took part in the work of the "Russia's Intellectual Potential — 21st Century" All-Russia Youth Forum which opened Thursday [23 November] at St. Petersburg State Technical University's International Training Center. Chernomyrdin addressed the forum participants, the city's eminent scholars, and representatives of all-Russia youth organizations.

The same day the prime minister met with students and instructors of the city's military educational establishments at the S.M. Kirov Leningrad District House of Officers. Then he visited another very well-known Petersburg higher educational establishment — the state university, where he had a meeting with the city's Council of Higher Educational Establishment Principals. At this meeting Chernomyrdin answered questions from Petersburg scholars. They told the prime minister about the problems facing Petersburg higher educational establishments.

Yesterday Chernomyrdin visited the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul and the Grand-Ducal Burial Vault.

Today Viktor Stepanovich will have a conversation with members of the St. Petersburg government at the Smolnyy. In the afternoon the elevated guest will visit the LOMO association, where he will be shown new models of this famous firm's output. Chernomyrdin will also have a meeting with the local aktiv of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement.

Zhirinovskiy to Omsk: Kazakhstan To 'Seize' Region

LD2411194295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] OMSK, Nov 24 (Interfax) — The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia

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(LDPR), Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, ended his short stay in Omsk on his way to China.

After Zhirinovskiy made a speech to the Omsk electorate in the city's Social and Political Center, his inebriated guards broke a glass door to drive him out of the building.

LDPR activists in Omsk denied to Interfax-Eurasia that the incident was deliberate. They said the guards pulled the locked door too hard as they chose a shortcut to drive their leader out of the building.

The guards apologized to the center's keeper and assured him that they will pay for the repairs.

Zhirinovskiy told the Omsk electorate that Kazakhstan planned to seize the bordering Omsk region. According to him, in the year 2000 Russia will include Belarus, some Baltic states, south and eastern Ukraine and northern Kazakhstan.

The LDPR delegation made another short stop in Abakan on its way to China.

Duma Deputy's Death Linked to Other Murders

LD2611152495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1447 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 26 (Itar-Tass) — State Duma Deputy Sergey Markidonov, assassinated in the Chita region last night, was a member of the deputy group Stability, its spokesman told Itar-Tass on Sunday.

The spokesman said the members of the group were shocked by the news of their colleague's assassination.

"Sergey Markidonov, our close friend, a deputy, a person who has, by all means, deserved this title, has died. The Duma has lost a real professional," they said in a statement on Sunday.

"The details of the accident are not known yet and it is too early to make any assessments," the statement said.

Markidonov, 34, was killed in the town of Petrovsk-Zabaikalskiy where he was campaigning in the run-up to the upcoming parliamentary elections scheduled for December 17.

He was running for a new Duma in Chita Territorial District No. 188.

Markidonov had an academic degree of a candidate of science, economics. He was chairman of the Chita Regional Executive Council's Commission on Economic Reform from 1990 to 1992, and head of the Chita Regional Property Fund from 1992 to 1993.

Markidonov was elected to the State Duma in December 1993. He was a member of the parliamentary faction Russia's Choice. Since January 1994, Markidonov has been a member of the Duma Committee for Property, Privatisation and Economic Activities.

The Public Prosecutor's Office has launched an investigation. No details of the accident were immediately available.

The deputy group Stability was registered in March 1995. It consists of about 40 independent deputies and favours "centrist democratic positions."

The is not the first murder of State Duma deputies this year.

Andrey Aizderdzis, a member of the faction New Regional Policy, was shot dead by an unidentified person near the entrance to his home in Moscow's district of Khimki on April 26, 1994.

Valentin Martemyanov, a member of the communist faction, was heavily beaten up by unidentified persons on November 1, 1994. He suffered cranial-cerebral injuries and died after a surgery on November 5, 1994.

Sergey Skorochkin, a member of the Liberal Democratic faction, was kidnapped by four unidentified persons from the cafe U Viktorii (at Viktoria's) in the city of Zaraysk, Moscow region, late at night on February 1, 1995. His dead body with gunshot wounds was found near the village Sarybyevo in the Moscow region on February 2, 1995.

None of the cases has been solved so far.

Baltic Fleet 'Gravely Ill' Due to Underfunding

MM2411165595 Moscow PRAVDA-5 in Russian 24 Nov-1 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Aleksey Grigoryev: "Be Patient, Baltic Fleet!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Baltic Fleet is the oldest Russian naval fleet and working fleet. Its ships opened a window onto Europe, guided by the iron hand of Peter I. Baltic sailors established Russia's flag in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. They died for the motherland at Port Arthur and in the Tsushima Strait. Baltic sailors were the germ from which the fleets in the Black Sea, the North, and the Pacific grew. In the Great Patriotic War Baltic sailors stood like an impenetrable wall in the path of the German fascist aggressors. Seamen contributed to the enemy's defeat in the Baltic region, East Prussia, and Poland.

With the traitorous breakup of the USSR the process of the fleet's disintegration also began. The pool of ships

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diminished to less than one-third, and personnel numbers were halved. Since 1991 the fleet has irretrievably lost 80 percent of its main basing facilities, 11 out of 16 dispersed facilities, and 61 percent of the moored fleet.

In the berths at Baltiysk, where in past times there was not room for an apple to fall between the serried ranks of ships, the flags of just one combined unit were fluttering all alone in a breeze blowing along the coast. The dark stain of the fleet's last cruiser — Admiral Zozulya — loomed at a distance out of the milky, thinning mist.

"Funds are lacking not only to salvage ships which have served out their time," Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, fleet commander, said. "There are no funds to maintain the sailors' life — this is a tragedy. You start a new day, and you do not know what is more important: combat readiness or survival...."

In the pre-perestroyka times the fleet, along with the naval forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, controlled one-third of the Baltic. Now it can barely cover a part of the sea area. This has happened not only because of the change in the distribution of political and military forces in this region. There are other reasons too. They are no less important. In the third century after Peter I, his creation is getting no new ships. This is not the first year that this situation has prevailed. Ship repairs, which still exist somehow, have been funded this year up to just 18 percent of requirements. Therefore it has become the normal practice to operate ships for twice the usual time between repairs or even longer. This is a direct precondition for an increase in accidents and mishaps.

To the existing failings should be added the fact that some Russian warships have ended up as hostages outside Russia. The naval department's debt to the Liepaja and Banderayskiy Ship Repair Yards alone runs to approximately 30 billion rubles [R]. The situation is no better at Russian yards and repair bases, where skilled cadres are scattering because of the lack of wages. The next problem, also resulting from "perestroyka," is that most of the fleet is based two borders away from mainland Russia. In Kaliningrad Oblast the customs duties simply turn already empty pockets inside out. This can be seen clearly even from the meager facts cited by Adm. Yegorov. Thus, the imposts and duties on 20 tonnes of paint for the fleet's ships exceeded their prices on the world market — R1.2 billion had to be paid.

Today the Baltic Fleet is sick. Very sick. Peter the Great's heirs have proved to be extravagant and shortsighted. The window which he opened and which was widened by his descendants and the continuers of his cause has been narrowed catastrophically. In addition, the part that remains is proving to be tightly shuttered. If things go on like this, Russia could be left entirely without a fleet in the Baltic. In the commander's opinion, the gravely ill patient will hardly survive until the next millennium.

Vologda Newspaper Editor on 'Persecution' by Governor

MM2411131795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Viktor Filippov: "Strange Sequel to 'Grain Affair': Commission Supports Governor Who Persecutes..Journalists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vologda — On 21 November Vladimir Pantsyrev, chief editor of the Vologda Oblast newspaper RUSSKIY SEVER, was invited for a chat with Vyacheslav Volkov, first deputy leader of the Russian Federation Presidential Staff, who is in Vologda with a commission sent here on Boris Yeltsin's orders to "speedily get to the bottom of and submit proposals on" facts set out in an article "End of 'Grain Affair'" (IZVESTIYA, 15 November).

In August the newspaper RUSSKIY SEVER reprinted from IZVESTIYA an article entitled "Grain Affair" and since that time it has been subjected to persecution by Vologda Governor Nikolay Podgornov. The editorial office has been turned out of the premises that it has rented since 1991, the paper's journalists are forbidden admittance to the oblast administration's building, and the governor's security service illegally detained three reporters who were carrying out an assignment for the editorial office. The security guards forced the journalists to wipe a videotape and even threatened to "rip off" one of their heads.

The governor, and ideologists taking their orders from him, have organized a clamorous campaign against RUSSKIY SEVER in the oblast newspapers — whose founder is the oblast administration — and on local radio and television. The newspaper is accused of lying and inciting public disorder, the good reputation of journalists working for it is being impugned, and pressure is being brought to bear on advertisers, forcing them to refuse to deal with RUSSKIY SEVER.

It is, therefore, completely understandable that the paper's chief editor, Vladimir Pantsyrev, went to the meeting with Vyacheslav Volkov, leader of the presidential commission, in the hope of receiving understanding and assistance.

"It was a surprise for me when Volkov begun the conversation by saying that the commission had come to Vologda at the urgent request of the governor himself, Podgornov, to whom the Russian president had

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listened," Vladimir Pantsyrev tells us. "Then the high-ranking guest from Moscow began to set out for me his own view of the situation in Vologda, which seemed to me as like Governor Nikolay Podgornov's many public monologues as two peas in a pod. He said that the information from the Russian Federation Comptroller's Office, on which the author of the IZVESTIYA article 'End of "Grain Affair"' had based his account, was compiled in an unprofessional manner and the Russian Finance Ministry has no grievance against the Vologda governor with regard to his use of 21.7 billion rubles of 'grain money.' RUSSKIY SEVER should support the governor and not to add grist to the opposition mill through its criticism.

"I tried to draw Vyacheslav Volkov's attention to the cases of persecution of our journalists," Vladimir Pantsyrev continues. "But in reply I heard that the Vologda governor is very loyal to RUSSKIY SEVER: Apparently in other oblasts there are cases of journalists being beaten up or worse.... But having turned the newspaper out, Podgornov did not even prevent the editorial office from looking for other premises. Volkov evidently considered that this exhausted the theme of the persecution of journalists in Vologda Oblast. On leaving he said to me that the Russian president 'will never abandon' Vologda Governor Podgornov and, moreover, will support him at the gubernatorial elections next year. Incidentally, this conversation of ours took place during the second day of the commission's stay in Vologda, before the official roundup of the inquiry's results."

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin: Economy's Positive Changes To Continue

LD2511174995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1611 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 25 (Interfax) — The positive changes in Russia's economy, particularly keeping inflation down to four and something percent, will continue in December, if not hampered by political tensions, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told a conference of leaders of state-run research centers (SRC) in Moscow Saturday. "The main indicators have not gone lower than 100 percent since last May-June thanks to the strict monetary and financial policy," he underlined.

Chernomyrdin highly praised Russia's science after he visited an exposition of its achievements in Moscow Saturday. Virtually each of the exhibits conforms to the international standards and sometimes exceeds them, he added.

"The government understands the vital role of big science and will render it state support," Chernomyrdin stressed. Next year's budget expenditures on science may be increased from 2 percent to 3 percent, he added.

Chernomyrdin stressed the need for a complex approach to problems experienced by the SRCs, specially as far as taxes and fuel prices are concerned. He paid serious attention to personnel training for the big science and supposed that "certain privileges for talented youth are possible with respect to their service in the army."

Yasin Confident of Sound Trends in Economy

MK2511090295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker: "Finance Minister Accepts No Compromises. Inflation Should Be Wrung Hard, Yevgeniy Yasin Thinks."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Continuing his polemic with his opponents, Yevgeniy Yasin said at a session of the "Interaction" reform club: "Although the country is going through the most painful phase of reforms, sound trends are starting to gain ground in the economy." He flatly disagreed with those who still hold that it is possible to live with inflation standing at 5-10 percent. Also, the minister objected to experts who are forecasting an inflation rate of up to 6-10 percent in the next few months. In his view, the pace of price increases will not exceed 4.2 percent in November, and in December, it will reach 3-3.5 percent.

The government member also objected to critics of the currency band: "The band has saved the dollar — and hence, exporters — from collapse." Admitting that the gap between inflation dynamics and the ruble rate puts exporters in a tough position, Mr. Yasin believes, however, that "by canceling the band, their problems will not be solved radically," whereas inflationary expectations will step up, "which is a great evil."

The minister made an attempt to dismiss the misgivings that the market for state short-term bonds is unstable, and, as numerous experts allege, turning into a semblance of financial "pyramids," albeit of state origin. "The government will not allow any setbacks on this market," Mr. Yasin said, "although this market partially destabilizes other sectors, especially investment in industry."

The Finance Ministry chief also dismissed charges that financial stabilization has allowed living standards to fall. Mr. Yasin admitted to the fall being an actual fact, although it was brought about just at the time when inflation was rampant, that is, between 1994 and 1995. However, as soon as Viktor Chernomyrdin's cabinet

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succeeded in consistently slowing the growth in prices, alongside this process a gradual rise in living standards started. Inflation should be wrung hard, the minister is confident. Dampened to 1 percent monthly, it will make 20 percent yearly, and then, according to Mr. Yasin, it will be possible "to reduce bank credit rates; normal conditions for investment will appear; enterprises will be able to replenish current assets and pay their debts."

Arms Sales Earnings of $3.5 Billion Predicted

LD2411174195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) — Russia expects about $3.5 billion from arms sales next year, an increase of nearly $1 billion against last year, Boris Kuzyk, the Russian president's adviser on military and technical cooperation with foreign countries, reported at a news conference in Moscow on Friday.

Kuzyk said Russia's new, more effective program of cooperation with CIS and other countries will help the sale of arms, adding that a military cooperation bill has gone through its first hearing in the State Duma and now stands a chance to be passed next year, when the Russian president will work out the strategy of implementing the cooperation program.

The State Committee for Technical Policy and the Defense Ministry will check the implementation of the program and will be in charge of issuing licenses to sell arms. The state-run company Rosvooruzhenyie and special arms exporters will be Russia's direct sellers abroad, Kuzyk said, favouring Latin American, South East Asian, Middle East, and European countries, India, and China as the most lucrative arms markets for Russia. The program will be funded by both government and non-government sources, such as Rosvooruzhenyie, which has allocated over $300 million for high-tech development projects over several years. A number of Russian banks have opened credit lines worth $675 million for advanced arms manufacture.

The program provides for more integration with CIS states, Kuzyk said.

Oil Refining Volume To Drop by 60 Million Tonnes

MK2511063395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 4

[ANI report: "Russia To Cut Rated Annual Oil Refining Capacity by 60 Million Tonnes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia is planning during the next several years to cut the overall annual rated capacity of the oil refining sector from 320 million tonnes to 250 or 260 million tonnes owing to the withdrawal from service of obsolete equipment. Experts say that further use of the worn-out oil refining equipment, which has been in use for two or three times its useful life, is unwise, since it calls for additional annual investments of up to 1.5 trillion rubles.

Most units slated for scrapping were put into operation in the 1950's and early 1960's. The biggest production cuts are expected at the following refineries — "Groznefteorgsintez" in Chechnya, from 19 to 10 million tonnes; "Nizhegorodnefteorgsintez," from 22 to 16.5 million tonnes; and "Yaroslavlnefteorgsintez," from 17.8 to 13.5 million tonnes. Meanwhile, new facilities to be put into operation in 1995 and 1996 have a capacity of about 10 million tonnes. The heads of one oil holding company have said that the cuts in production capacity have already been agreed with Russian oil companies, which include oil refineries. According to expert forecasts, the amount of oil refined in Russia up to the year 2000 will not exceed 200 or 220 million tonnes, with oil production stabilizing at 290 to 300 million tonnes. Such an amount of refined crude will fully meet the demand of all possible customers.

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International Affairs

Kuchma Congratulates Polish President-Elect

AU2411175295 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Relations: "On the Election of the President of the Polish Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 November, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma sent a letter to Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was elected president of the Republic of Poland in the course of recent elections.

In his letter, President L. Kuchma, on behalf of the people of Ukraine and himself, sincerely congratulated A. Kwasniewski on his victory in the presidential elections. He expressed confidence that relations of close cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland will continue developing steadily to the advantage of our nations and in the interests of further strengthening of stability and security both in the region of Central and Eastern Europe and on the continent as a whole. Taking the opportunity of the occasion, President L. Kuchma confirmed our invariable striving for further expansion and intensification of the political dialogue between Ukraine and Poland. He expressed confidence that there exist numerous real possibilities for raising our cooperation to a qualitatively new level that would conform to mutual national interests. President L. Kuchma wished A. Kwasniewski every success in his important activity and the people of the Republic of Poland — happiness and prosperity.

Shmarov: Kiev Fulfilled Disarmament Obligations

AU2411132395 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 Nov 95 p 6

[Report by "b.b.": "Threat From Inside"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna — Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov sees "not so much an external but an internal threat" for his country at present. By internal threat he specifically means the "disastrous economic situation," the minister told journalists. Yesterday Shmarov ended his several-day visit to Austria with a trip to the Langenlebern Air Base.

Shmarov, the first civilian head of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, generally believes that "at present the likelihood of armed conflicts among states has decreased." The main purpose of his military-diplomatic efforts is to create a "positive security atmosphere around Ukraine." "I consider this much more important for safeguarding our security than equipping our armed forces with new weapons." His visit to Austria should also be understood in this spirit.

Shmarov insists that Ukraine has fulfilled its disarmament obligations resulting from the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe "completely and in advance." The only reasons why the obligations in connection with the land-based military equipment of the Black Sea Fleet have not yet been fulfilled is that Moscow and Kiev have not yet reached agreement on the division of the fleet: "Russia must take serious measures on this issue as soon as possible."

Together with Defense Minister Fasslabend, Shmarov signed a cooperation agreement providing for an exchange of experiences on the establishment of armed forces and the organization of troop control, and the exchange of experts at all levels.

Shmarov, Russia's Grachev Sign Bilaterel Documents

LD2511123495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi — Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and his Ukrainian counterpart, Valeriy Shmarov, have signed 26 bilateral documents at the end of their meeting in Sochi. These include eight agreements, nine protocols, and two cooperation plans.

The ministers signed intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in the military sphere, interstate military deliveries and payments, and the transit of military formations temporarily stationed in Moldova.

The sides signed protocols on cooperation between the Defense Ministries with regard to military activities in space, on the prospective purchase of strategic missile systems from Ukraine, on flank limitations under the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, and on the transfer of heavy bombers to Russia, as well as a timetable for the transfer of Black Sea Fleet units to Ukraine, and a plan for Ukrainian-Russian military cooperation in 1996.

Speaking at a news conference today, Grachev described the meeting as an "historic event which has changed the military and political climate between the two countries." He said the agreements with his Ukrainian counterpart do much to "increase the chance of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Ukraine."

Under the 1996 cooperation plan, the countries will hold joint exercises and staff meetings. Ukrainian and Russian military delegations will hold regular meetings at least every six months.

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Grachev Confirms Russia To Buy Planes

LD2511124995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi — Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has refused to disclose the terms for the sale of Ukraine's strategic bombers to Russia, agreed at the two defense ministers' meeting in Sochi. However, he told UNIAN that Russia "would initially buy 10 TU-160 and 15 TU-95 strategic bombers."

Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov said: "The important thing is not the price but the logistic side of the matter, which concerns Ukraine first of all.

"In exchange for the bombers, Ukraine can get badly needed aircraft engines and spare parts, crucial to our defense capability," he said.

Joint Finance of Radar Warning System Discussed With Russia

LD2411222795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1630 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi, [no date as received] — "As radar sets, missile attack warning system facilities usually function in Russia's interests, and only partly in Ukraine's interests, we are examining the issue of jointly financing the maintenance and operation of these facilities, said General Viktor Prudnikov, commander in chief of Russia's Air Defense Forces, who has been taking part in the military delegations' talks. A UNIAN special correspondent reports that Prudnikov said he was convinced that cooperation between Kiev and Moscow in the field of air defense was necessary for the sides to get information concerning control over air space and for implementation of Russian and Ukrainian air defense forces' tasks.

According to Gen. Mykhaylo Lopatin, the commander in chief of Ukraine's Air Defense Forces, Ukraine has spent $3.3 million on maintaining two radar sets over 10 months of this year [January-October inclusive]. He stressed that Russia had not taken part in financing these facilities.

Shmarov Notes Progress on Black Sea Fleet Talks

LD2511125295 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi — "We have come closer to solving the Black Sea Fleet problem," Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov told a news conference today after talks with his Russian counterpart. The minister said three disputed issues remain, concerning the status of Black Sea Fleet bases, the payment for bases, and the joint deployment of Russian and Ukrainian fleets in Sevastopol.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said the Black Sea Fleet problem is "no obstacle to normal cooperation in the military sphere."

Baltin: Problem Not BSF But Russia-Ukraine Relations

LD2411183195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sevastopol, November 24 (Interfax - Ukraine) — There is no Black Sea Fleet [BSF] problem, but there is only that of Russian-Ukrainian relations, newsmen were told in Sevastopol by Admiral Eduard Baltin, Commander of the Black Sea Fleet, before the opening of the BSF talks at Sochi.

The Admiral noted that he does "not expect anything good from the talks between the Defence Ministers of Ukraine and Russia at Sochi, because since the preceding rounds there has been no change whatever in the foreign and domestic policy lines, economic relations between Russia and Ukraine," which, he believes, are decisive for this problem.

The BSF Commander is convinced that "there cannot be two fleets in one base." In Admiral Baltin's view, the main base of the fleet is entitled to decide upon the regulations in the city and the adjacent water areas outside the territory of waters. The Admiral also believes that the main base is entitled to establish its own systems of surveillance, reconnaissance of surface air and subsurface situation as well as the system of material and special technical supply.

Speaking on the problem of BSF's debts to Sevastopol and Ukraine, the Commander said that he would not pay "even if Russia issues such an order and appropriates funds."

In his words, "since August 1993, the Fleet suffered a loss worth 2.5 trillion krb [karbovanets] in preparing mobilization resources for Ukraine".

In his words, the BSF has trained for Ukraine a total of 34,500 seamen and privates of all professions. "We are not indebted to Sevastopol, but, on the contrary, Ukraine should return to the BSF more than 1.8 trillion karbovanets," Eduard Baltin said.

At the same time, under the comprehensive programme for stabilizing the socio-economic situation in Sevastopol, which was discussed at the recent city council session, the maintenance of the BSF base considering the BSF's backpay for electricity and debts to the state tax service, the possibilities lost because of the siting of

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the base in Sevastopol as well as the damage done to the environment in the territory of the city and the water area of the harbors cost Sevastopol more than 12.1 trillion krb annually (nearly $68 million).

On top of that, according to the findings of the probe into the ecological consequences of the BSF's activities performed by the inter-departmental commission of the Ukrainian Ministry of the Environment and Nuclear Safety, the damage has reached 19400 million USD.

Moscow Prepared To Repay BSF's Debt to Sevastopol

LD2411185995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sevastopol, November 24 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Russia is prepared to repay 25,800 million RUR [Russian rubles] (more than one trillion karbovanets) in debts of the Black Sea Fleet [BSF] in connection with its maintenance, Viktor Semenov, Head of the Sevastopol City State Administration, said.

Commenting on the results of his visit to Moscow last week, he said that, according to the procedure adopted, "the debt of the BSF to the city is to be repaid by Ukraine from its pay default to Russia by various types of credits or for the supply of energy carriers." According to V.Semenov, "the President and Prime-Minister of Ukraine will receive a report on the system of mutual settlement of accounts early next week."

According to Semenov, the government of Russia has already prepared a paper to this effect. The figures of the debt presented by Sevastopol to Russia's Ministry for Cooperation "are on the whole identical with the figures available in Russia."

Ukraine, Russia Agree on Bosnian Peacekeeping Role

LD2511125495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi — "Both Kiev and Moscow believe in the need to continue peacekeeping operations in Bosnia outside NATO's direct command," Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov told a news conference on 25 November following talks between the two countries' military delegations.

According to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Ukraine and Russia share similar positions on flank limitations under the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. Ukraine demands a revision of limitations for Odessa military district, Russia for Northern Caucasus. According to Grachev, both countries' views will be discussed soon in Vienna.

Kiev Ready For Resumption of Economic Ties With FRY

LD2411163095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text]The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued the following statement:

Ukraine welcomes the UN Security Council's decision to lift economic sanctions against the FRY, which has been made possible by the comprehensive peace accord on Bosnia-Herzegovina initialled in Dayton in the United States by the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia.

Having consistently pressed for the abolition of sanctions against the FRY, Ukraine believes this will facilitate further negotiations and the renewal of trust between the warring sides, and boost the implementation of agreements which have been reached. Ukraine believes that full abolition of sanctions against Yugoslavia and its full admission to the international community is an important guarantee of peace and stability in the region and overall European security.

Ukraine, like other countries in the region, suffered enormous losses as it diligently complied with the embargo. It is now ready to develop comprehensive economic relations with the FRY and other countries of former Yugoslavia and to take part in the revival and post-conflict restoration of the region, the statement says.

Udovenko Returns to Kiev From EU Talks in Madrid

LD2611144295 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Ukrainian delegation led by Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko has returned to Kiev from Madrid after attending a round of consultations in the Spanish capital with a European Union [EU] troika, that is the leaders of the foreign policy departments of Spain, France, and Italy.

The main issue discussed during the consultations was the state of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. The sides noted the gradual nature of the development and deepening of relations. The EU representatives emphasized that they attach great significance to cooperation with Ukraine, considering it to be a stable democratic state and an important factor in European policy and security.

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Official: Kiev 'Ready' To Pipe Iranian Gas to Europe

WS2711110895 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0809 GMT 27 Nov 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels. On November 24, an international conference on energy transportation from the Caucasian region and Middle Asia to Europe began in Brussels. The conference is held under the auspices of the European Commission. Among members of the Ukrainian delegation at this conference are the Ukrainian Prime Minister, Yevhen Marchuk, and the head of the Ukrhazprom ("Ukrainian Gas Industry") corporation, Bohdan Klyuk. According to information provided to an INFOBANK correspondent by the management of Ukrhazprom, a Ukrainian delegation brought to Brussels a number of proposals regarding participation of Ukrainian businesses in gas-supplies to Europe. It was emphasized that firstly, Ukraine is interested in piping a certain portion of the Caspian oil through the Odessa terminal; secondly Ukraine is ready to join a project to pipe Iranian gas to Europe. The latter project can be realized only at the beginning of the next century, since contracts for gas supplies to European countries have been secured till 2003-2005. In addition, European countries consider the cost of the Iranian gas too high. However, prices for gas in Europe are steadily increasing, so by the end of the century this project is expected to become profitable.

A representative of Ukrhazprom said that economists of the European Union are considering two routes to pipe gas from Iran: a northern route and a southern route. It is planned that the first route will be laid through the territory of the Transcaucasian region, the Black Sea, and Ukraine. The second route will go through the territory of Turkey. The estimated cost of each of these projects amounts to nearly $20 billion USD. Ukraine can provide the construction of the gas pipe line with pipes with isolated covering (manufactured by the Khartsyzk pipe plant), gas pumping devices (made by Sumy Engineering Association), gas turbines and other types of equipment, as well as perform designing works. Ukrainian institutions designed nearly 75 per cent of pipelines in the Soviet Union. At present, approximately fifteen designing and scientific organizations in Ukraine perform design works for the oil and gas sector.

National Affairs

85 Million ECU Credit Agreement Ratified With EU

LD2411190095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, November 24 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada has ratified Friday the credit agreement between the European Community on the granting of a 85 million ECU loan to Ukraine.

Verkhovna Rada voted for the ratification of the agreement 216 against 30, out of the 299 deputies, who took part in the voting.

On December 29, 1994 the European Community passed a decision on the granting of a loan to Ukraine worth up to 85 million ECU. The maximum term of repayment is ten years.

On November 17, the Parliament voted against the ratification and instead instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to prepare and table at Verkhovna Rada before December a draft paper on the use of this loan for top priority investments and social programmes of the country.

The letter from the Finance Ministry addressed to Verkhovna Rada Speaker Oleksandr Moroz on November 23 explains why it is impossible to make such a use of the credit, because its aim is to fund the balance of payment deficit and strengthen Ukraine's foreign currency reserves.

The Finance Ministry pointed out that if Ukraine receives this loan from the European Community, "appropriate state budget funds will be released and channelled to finance social programmes."

Parliament Ratifies CIS Coal, Metal Agreement

WS2711111895 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0007 GMT 25 Nov 95

[Report by Oksana Hasiuk]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Nov. 24 — Parliament on Friday [24 November] ratified Ukraine's participation in the Interstate Eurasian Union of Coal and Metal [IEAUCM]. The agreement was made within the framework of the CIS and signed on behalf of Ukraine in September 1993 in Moscow at a CIS summit meeting.

The IEAUCM is aimed at elaborating cooperation between signatory states in the fields of raw materials, fuel, unfinished products and finished products. It has been ratified by the parliaments of Russia and Kazakhstan.

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Industry Minister Valeriy Mazur said Friday in Parliament that the fuel trade between signatory countries will be freed from excise taxes and duties.

According to documents presented to deputies by the Cabinet of Ministers, mutual supplies of raw materials and equipment necessary for the production of coal and metal will increased coal and metal production in Ukraine.

However, Ukraine signed on to the union on the condition that the decisions of its administrative bodies are obligatory only for enterprises producing coal and metal, but not for the states that joined the agreement.

Parliament ratified the agreement with this limitation.

Moroz Criticizes Draft Constitution

LD2511202095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1611 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Nov 25 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Oleksandr Moroz has criticized the draft of the country's new constitution drawn up by the constitutional commission and approved as a basis for further work.

"Such a fundamental law cannot be adopted," Moroz said at a session of the roundtable involving Ukrainian businessmen in Kiev today.

Moroz, who is a co-chairman of the constitutional commission, said the document "contains many erroneous points and uncoordinated positions." "The draft's main drawback is that the society's structure, including parties, trade unions and other public organizations, has not been determined," he said.

Moroz said the draft constitution failed to provide for "real counter-balances in relations between various branches of power." "The draft does not contain guarantees for the existence of a democratic parliament and its real influence on the society," he said. Moroz also criticized the president retaining the right to dissolve the parliament in case it fails to approve the government's program.

Parliament Approves Timetable for Crimean Constitution

LD2511135995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol — The Ukrainian Supreme Council has approved a schedule for the adoption of the new Crimean constitution proposed by the republic's parliament, Crimean speaker's press secretary Pavlo Lomakin told journalists.

Under the plan, all factions of the Ukrainian parliament are to discuss the draft constitution with Crimean deputies by 8 December. The Supreme Council debate on the Crimean constitution has been set provisionally for 14-15 December.

Crimean parliament members held talks this week with the Ukrainian commission conducting an inquiry into the political and legal situation on the peninsula. They also discussed the draft constitution with faction leaders in the Ukrainian parliament.

Parliament Reformists' Lack of Discipline Criticized

LD2411223195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivano-Frankovsk, [no date as received] — "It is important right now for the voices of those who uphold democratic values to become louder. Now one practically does not hear the voice of that section of parliament, which supports reforms," said Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma at a news conference on 24 November. According to him, "discipline in the parliament's reformist bloc is equivalent to zero," which could lead to "the adoption of any decision against reforms, because the communists and socialists vote together, but there are no reformers. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Kuchma Speech to Trade Unions on Privatization

LD2611150695 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 95

[Speech by President Leonid Kuchma at a rally in Kiev on 25 November to mark the 90th anniversary of the trade union movement in Ukraine — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] The trade unions can play a more influential role in removing property from state control. You should act as the collective protector of labor collectives's interests in the privatization process, ensure that current legislation is adhered to and that the principle of fairness is consolidated in the management of property belonging to the workers. We hope the trade unions will participate in independent expert appraisals of investment projects for enterprises undergoing privatization, especially regarding the prospects for the development of specific enterprises, the preservation of jobs and creation of new ones, and labor protection.

Another problem: Our trade unions now have practical experience of working only with the state or at state enterprises, although the nonstate sector in industry and the consumer sector is already producing up to

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half of all products this year. We plan to complete small-scale privatization next year, and almost 5,000 large enterprises could be removed from state control. A considerable number of economic facilities will get new owners, and this will require fundamentally new relationships between employers and employees. Trade unions should now work on new forms of cooperation in order as to avoid undesirable conflicts and put into practice the attractive slogans of social solidarity and partnership.

One should be pay special attention to the so-called post-privatization condition of enterprises, the harmonization of relations between the new owners and the labor collectives, and normalization of the moral and psychological situation there. [passage omitted]

Kuchma Speech Stresses Economic Reforms

WS2711111295 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0423 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ivano-Frankivsk, Nov 24 — President Leonid Kuchma struck nationalist themes in a speech Friday [24 November] morning in Ivano-Frankivsk.

"As President, I see no greater task than the building of an economically strong state that would be respected by the whole world for a productive economy policy."

The President said he thought the first years after Ukraine proclaimed the independence the time "weren't used in a proper way." He said that Ukraine's leadership "postponed for too long the adoption of radical economic reforms." Although the reforms are strict, they are necessary, stated the President.

Kuchma was accompanied by Deputy Prime Ministers Vasyl Yevtukhov, Anatoliy Kinakh and Roman Shpek. He said his trip the western oblast was aimed at "obtaining objective information" about the situation of the oblast's economy, agriculture and industry.

Kuchma Says Chernobyl Closure Depends on G7 Funds

LD2511144195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1359 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 25 (Interfax - Ukraine) - Ukraine will have to reconsider its position whether to close down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told a press conference in Ivano-Frankovsk.

The date will be reconsidered, if the G7 does not assist the republic in storage of nuclear waste and maintenance of the buried 4th reactor where an accident happened on April 26, 1986.

According to Kuchma, Ukraine has made a political decision on closing down the plant, while "now the word rests with the world community."

At the same time, Kuchma stressed the need to close down the plant.

Last April, the Ukrainian leadership had announced its intention to close down the plant by 2000 provided the West renders the necessary assistance.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said the funds proposed by the G7 "do not suit us absolutely." He made this statement after a meeting of the presidential National Security Council last Wednesday.

Ukraine estimates the costs of closing down the plant at $3 billion to $4 billion, while G7 proposes only $2 billion in credit.

Economic Issues

Commissioner Says EU Supports Economic Reforms

LD2411185395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, November 24 (Interfax - Ukraine) — The European Union supports the economic reforms programme pursued by the Ukrainian Government.

A statement to this effect has been made in an Interfax-Ukraine interview by Hans Van den Broek of the European Commission after his meeting on Friday with Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk.

"We fully approve of all of Ukraine's intentions, especially those in the area of privatization and agriculture," he indicated.

According to Hans Van den Broek, the European Commission is planning to closely cooperate with the Ukrainian Government for "ensuring support for important transformations". "An intensive-dialogue will continue between Ukraine and the European Union", he underscored.

The talks between H. Van den Broek covered issues involved in nuclear safety "which concern all of us", as well as in the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and "everything which is to be done in this respect".

The European Commission, he said, highly appreciates Ukrainian Prime Minister's participation in the international conference on the subject "Management of oil and gas pipe-lines", which is currently in session in Brussels.

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The subject of the conference is "of tremendous importance both for Ukraine and the European Union, since Ukraine depends on gas supplies from Russia, and the diversification of energy carrier supply is important for the European Union".

Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said in an IF-U interview that "the meeting was held in a constructive atmosphere". "In the first place, I assured our partners of the stability of our course of reforms", and furnished definite examples, Marchuk said.

"We now have to overcome the adverse consequences of the past, which add up to our problems," he observed.

At the same time, Marchuk underscored that the course taken towards economic reforms "remains unchanged in all of its basic aspects".

Kuchma Says Business Needs Stable Legislative Base

LD2411211195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1630 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivano-Frankovsk — President Leonid Kuchma, who is on a working visit to Ivano-Frankovsk Region, today visited the Burshtyn state regional electric power station, and then familiarized himself with the work of the Oriana concern, which comprises 10 independent plants and makes more than 100 types of product. The concern cooperates closely with well-known firms in a number of the world's developed countries. Conversing with the concern's workers, Leonid Kuchma stressed the necessity for a stable legislative base for carrying out reforms in Ukraine. "We have to draw up permanent rules of the game, and not change them every month or every week," he emphasized.

During his visit to the region, Leonid Kuchma also went to a plant with modern petrochemical production without waste products and a carpet factory.

Today Leonid Kuchma will hold a consultation with the region's business managers.

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Belarus

Lukashenka Says Breakup of USSR Political Mistake

LD2411194095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Nov 24 (Interfax-West) — Belarussian President Alyasandr Lukashenka has described the agreements abolishing the Soviet Union, which were signed in Belovezhskaya Pushcha in December, 1991, as a political mistake. He made the statement at a meeting with Belarussian writers and artists in Minsk Friday.

Lukashenka said that the breakup of the superpower "has led to the degradation" of a once united national economy, while the establishment of borders and visa regimes has resulted in the isolation and alienation of former Soviet republics.

He cited various Russian and Soviet writers to prove that western capitalism is alien to the Slavs. Attempts to impose ruthless capitalism not corresponding to the Slav mentality are doomed to fail, said Lukashenka.

Speaking about publishing in Belarus, he expressed his dissatisfaction over mass distribution of publicist pamphlets of domestic authors who describe the Belarussian people with such offensive terms as "sovok" (literally meaning "a dustpan," a derogatory term used to describe the Soviets), "a people of bums" and "a sick people."

Lukashenka's indignation was caused by the works of those authors who "try to convince the readers that far from helping defeat fascism, Belarussian guerrillas only provoked 'peaceful' occupants into punitive actions during the Great Patriotic War." He described as absurd the situation when "such flagrant falsification of historical facts" is published by state-owned publishing houses.

Defense Ministry Considers SU-27 Fighters Sale Legal

WS2711101995 Minsk MMC in English 0830 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Main Defense Ministry headquarters is ardently discussing the scandal, linked with preparations of the Belarusian import-export firm Beltekheksport to sell two SU-27 fighter planes to American firms. Details of the deal were explained in the Izvestiya newspaper (issue of November 22). The Belarusian side did really intend to sell the two planes, stationed at an airfield nearby Baranovichi, for $18 million. Defense Ministry representatives consider this deal to be no harm to Moscow, as Russia is equipped with more up-to-date materiel. Moreover, there are no reasons to assess the deal as unlawful, as the Belarusian side did not conceal its intention from Rosvooruzheniye and planned to transfer 40 percent of the total cost of the planes to Russian aircraft makers.

According to the opinion of analysts in the Air-Force headquarters, the story about the SU-27, similar to the one with an S-300 missile complex, was aimed to punch the prestige of Belarus as Russia's competitor on the world's weapon market.

Military Academy To Train Officers for Chinese Army

LD2411185695 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Belarusian Military Academy will train specialists for the People's Liberation Army of China. An agreement to that effect has already been signed, according to Lieutenant General Leanid Maltsaw, minister of defence of Belarus. Negotiations are under way to conclude such agreements with other countries.

Kucharaw Rejects Charges of Lithuanian Prosecutors

WS2711121795 Tallinn BNS in English 1803 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Belarus, Nov 24, BNS — Ivan Kucharaw, accused by Lithuania of crimes against the state in connection with the January 13, 1991, attempted coup, rejected all charges levelled by Lithuanian prosecutors against him.

At a press conference in Minsk on Friday [24 November], Kucharaw, who was released because of poor health from a Vilnius prison on Monday, said the case against him and two former Lithuanian communist party leaders still awaiting trial, Mykolas Burokevicius and Juozas Jermalavicius, was "fabricated."

Kucharaw expressed his thanks to the Belarussian president, prime minister and foreign minister for their efforts to facilitate his release from prison. According to him, until president Aleksandr Lukashenka addressed a letter to Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas, all protests by his supporters had been of no avail.

In Kucharaw's opinion, neither the soviet army nor the Lithuanian communist party were responsible for the deaths during the events of January 13, 1991.

"Of all the victims only one woman was killed by the treads of a soviet tank. The entire responsibility for the deaths rests with a third force — those who were shooting from the roofs of houses into the crowd surrounding the television tower," Kucharaw said, though he did not indicate who this "third force" might be.

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Kucharaw denied belonging to the National Salvation Committee back in 1991. He had only "prepared certain documents for the committee at the instructions of Jermalavicius," which, however, he does not regard as a crime.

Ivan Kucharaw said that only Mykolas Burokevicius was still acquainting himself with the evidence in the case — 80 of the 315 volumes of material remained for him to read. Since the court would also have to familiarize itself with this material, the trial, in Kucharaw's opinion, would begin "no earlier than in one-and-a-half years."

Moldova

Snegur's Autonomy Proposals Called 'Final Compromise'

AU2411134995 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 22 [INFOTAG] — President's Press Secretary Vasile Grozavu stated at today's journalist briefing that the latest Snegur's propositions on the Dniester autonomy within the Republic of Moldova were "the final compromise in that direction."

Answering INFOTAG's question about what will follow next, and whether or not the negotiation process may be stopped at all, Mr. Grozavu said, "next will be our appeals to international organizations, discussions in the framework of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), United Nations and other agencies that can help settle the problem peacefully."

The Foreign Policy Adviser to the President, Petru Dascal, has stated, "the negotiations ought to be continued till the final conflict settlement — no matter what the progress will be at various phases." He underlined, these specific talks pertain to internal Moldovan affairs, and they should be continued first and foremost at the experts level, so that the teams could work out concrete propositions.

The adviser also said, the talks are currently advancing with great difficulties. "On the one hand, Tiraspol leaders are holding a dual position, and are waiting for the results of the parliamentary elections in Russia. On the other hand, Tiraspol has given up its previous stance in its relationship with Chisinau." For an example, he referred to the fact that at the September 13 summit the separatist leaders gave up practically all accords reached by the sides in July.

According to Dascal, it would be wrong to say that the negotiations with Tiraspol are conducted exclusively by President Snegur. All the past summits were attended by Parliament Chairman Lucinschi and Prime Minister Sangheli, and all the three worked out a single platform before each summit.

Petru Dascal has agreed to a wide-spread opinion that the recent Duma's resolution is a populist undertaking caused by pre-election interests in Moscow.

"We are aware of the alignment of forces in the Duma. But one should bear in mind that the lower chamber of the Russian Parliament is an official organ, and state interests should prevail over group ambitions in it. In this particular case, the Moldovan interests were infringed in an overt and not very civilized manner. And it would be a shame if that step is followed by other, less friendly ones from behalf of other power organs in Russia," Dascal said. President Mircea Snegur has not yet received any reply from Boris Yeltsin. The Moldovan side is still hoping to receive one, and is ready to publish Yeltsin's message, the Foreign Policy Adviser said.

Parliament Refutes Duma 'Interference' in Dniester

AU2411174695 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 23 (INFOTAG) — Moldova's Parliament adopted a declaration on Russia's Duma decision concerning Dniester.

Moldovan deputies consider that "State Duma's decision contradicts generally recognized principles of interstatal relations, Moldovan-Russian bilateral agreements, as well as CIS Statutary documents.

"Fulfilling agreements between heads of states and governments aimed at normalizing situation in Dniester, the Republic of Moldova and the Parliament, in particular, tried not to observe attempts of interference in its internal affairs by certain representatives of the legislative and other official Russian bodies," the document says.

Duma's decision on Dniester is considered by the Moldovan legislators as "a case of ignoring Moldova's legitimate interests." Moldova's Parliament declared that "Moldova's official policy on national minorities, its international obligations give no ground for discriminatory approach to Moldova by other states, including the Russian Federation." The Parliament expressed regret over the fact that the State Duma has not ratified Agreement on principles of interstatal relations between Moldova and Russia.

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Maracuta Hails Russian Duma Resolution on Dniester

AU2411180795 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, November 23 (INFOTAG) — "The resolution adopted by the Russian State Duma is the crowning point of all the activity done by our Supreme Soviet during the past 2 years," said Dniester Parliament Chairman Grigore Maracuta at a press conference Wednesday evening. He gathered journalists upon his return from Moscow at the head of a Tiraspol delegation which included his deputy Anna Volkova, Parliament member Pyotr Galashkov, and local bankers.

"For the first time ever, a CIS region has been recognized as a zone of Russia's strategic interests, and President Boris Yeltsin has been instructed to consider a possibility of recognizing the Dniester independence. This is the result of our contacts with various factions in the State Duma," Maracuta stated.

Deputy Parliament Chairman Anna Volkova emphasized, "the resolution has been voted for by practically all factions in the Duma." She pointed out "a special support shown by the faction of the Liberal Democratic Party and its leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy."

On Wednesday, the delegation reported to the Parliament session on the work they had accomplished in Moscow. They particularly stressed the importance of the agreements achieved by them on cooperation with Russia in the financial and banking sphere.

"For the first time in recent years, we have succeeded in persuading Russian banks to grant credits to the Dniester agrarian sector, allocate financial means for our purchase of fuel and lubricants, chemicals and fertilizers. This financial and banking cooperation will allow to bring our Dniester coupon closer to the Russian ruble, and make it convertible," Grigore Maracuta announced.

The session has deprived of Parliament mandates 6 deputies who have been staying absent from the forum for three months and more. These are directors of Dniester's biggest industrial enterprises who give preference to economy rather than to making politics in the Tiraspol Parliament. Currently, they back the more moderate and sober-minded Movement for Development of Dniester.

Chisinau Hoping for Reasonable Compromise With Tiraspol

LD2411201195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1825 GMT 24 Nov 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Despite Tiraspol double standard policy, Moldova intends to press for settling the conflict in Transdniester region exclusively by peaceful means, President Mircea Snegur declared at a ceremony where he received credentials from Portugal's Ambassador Constantino Riberio Vaza.

The Transdniester leaders "reject the Moldova leaders proposal to accept reasonable compromises in line with the international law," Snegur said.

Earlier this week, his spokesman Vasiliy Grozavu described the president's proposal make the Transdniester region an autonomy within Moldova as "the last compromise in this respect."

Commenting at INTERFAX's request on this statement, Petr Daskel, the president's foreign policy adviser, said that "if the separatist leaders in Tiraspol turn down this offer, appeals will be addressed to international organizations, and discussions will follow within the framework of OSCE and U.N." and efforts to solve this problem by peaceful means will succeed.

There is no doubt that the negotiating process should be continued "until the final settlement of the conflict, regardless of how it develops at one stage or another," Daskel noted, adding that the negotiations that concern efforts "to reconcile differences inside the Moldova Republic" are "specific by nature" and should be conducted above all by experts, working out concrete proposals.

He explained the current slow down of the negotiating process by two reasons: Tiraspol "is stalling in the expectation of the results of elections to the State Duma kin Russia," while "the Transdniester leaders are departing from their former positions in relations with Chisinau." As an example, he recalled that at a meeting last September the Transdniester negotiators "virtually gave up the understandings reached with Moldova's leadership in July."

It would be wrong to say that "negotiations with Tiraspol have been conducted by the president alone. All the meetings on the eve of which a single position had been worked out, were attended by Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli and Parliament Chairman Petr Luchinskiy," Daskela said.

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Commenting on the Russian State Duma's decision on the Transdniester region, Snegur's adviser said that this "populist" document had been prompted by the upcoming elections. "We know the correlation of forces in the lower house of the Russian parliament," he declared, stressing that "it should be remembered that the State Duma is a state body and state interests prevail over cooperate interests." The interests of Moldova, he noted, have been infringed upon "in a direct and not very civilized form". Let us hope, these steps would not be followed by "even less friendly acts on the part of other structures of power in Russia," Daskel said.

He reported that Snegur had sent a letter on this score to President Yeltsin last week-end, however, "so far he has not received a clear-cut reply from his Russian counterpart." IF NOTE: On November 17, the State Duma adopted a decision to ask President Yeltsin "to recognize the Transdniester region a zone of Russia's special strategic interests." Yeltsin was also asked to consider the possibility of arranging a joint tripartite meeting of legislators and executive officials from Russia, Moldova, and Transdniester region to discuss the possibility of recognizing the Transdniester region an independent sovereign state. Deputies decided to contact Russia's Foreign Ministry again and urge it to immediately open a Russian consulate in Tiraspol.

The decision was adopted in response to an appeal to the State Duma from the Transdniester parliament to recognize the Transdniester Moldova Republic.

In response to the Russian State Duma's decision, the Moldova parliament declared that the resolution "ignores the legitimate interests of the Republic of Moldova."

The statement notes that "Moldova's parliament decisively rejects the policy of interference in its country's affairs." Deputies believe that the decision of the lower house of Russia's Federal Assembly "comes into clash with the universally accepted principles of interstate relations and bilateral accords between Moldova and Russia and CIS founding documents."

"Having encountered the phenomenon of separatism in recent years, Moldova counts on cooperation with and support from the Russian Federation, mediating efforts toward a settlement in the Transdniester region," the statement notes. Parliamentarians hope that "most Russian politicians detest methods of political pressure in interstate relations and advocate respect for democracy, dialogue, and international law." In this connection, Moldova lawmakers regret that the Russian State Duma has so far failed to ratify the Treaty on the Principles of Interstate Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Russian Federation.

Chisinau Denies Russian Spy Worked in Defense Ministry

LD2511223595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2145 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, November 26 (Itar-Tass) — A high-ranking Moldovan official denied media reports that a Russian spy has been caught in the Moldovan Defence Ministry.

Grigoriy Bratunov, chairman of the Moldovan parliamentary commission for national security, described an article published by the newspaper Tsara as "groundless."

The press services of the Ministries of National Security and Defence also expressed surprise at the publication.

On Friday, Tsara, a newspaper published by the Moldovan People's Front which calls for reunification with Romania, carried an article titled "Chisinau Crawls with Agents of Russian Special Services" quoting "informed sources in the Defence Ministry" as saying that a Russian agent who has been allegedly exposed and caught in the Moldovan Defence Ministry worked for a super-secret intelligence organisation of the former Warsaw Pact which, in the Soviet period, was located in Chisinau.

The newspaper claimed that the employees of this organisation still operate in Moldova "under the cover of commercial structures" and seek to "manipulate public opinion and destabilise the situation in the country."

"The fact that this report has been denied by Moldovan competent bodies shows that it was made out of thin air," Russian military attache in Moldova Valeriy Zibrov told Itar-Tass.

"Unfortunately, the newspaper also misinterpreted consultations between the military delegations of Russia and Moldova that were held this week. They discussed a draft agreement on cooperation between the military agencies of the two countries — it is expected to be signed in January 1996 — and a set of issues associated with the temporary deployment of a group of Russian troops in the Dniester region," he said.

"Tsara presented the talks as Russia's proposal to set up a military base in Moldova. I think that such 'reports' do not correspond to the spirit of friendship and cooperation either between Russia and Moldova or between the military agencies of the two countries," Zibrov said.

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PRCM Accuses Socialists of Serving Russia's Interests

AU2411133395 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 22 [INFOTAG] — "The parliamentary Socialist Unity [US] faction is the advocate of Russia's strategic interests, and is a consistent supporter of the territorial disintegration policy conducted by the anti-constitutional Tiraspol regime," reads a statement issued by the Party of Revival and Conciliation [PRCM].

The document, delivered to INFOTAG today, has a very serious heading: "On intentions of a group of majority deputies to undermine the state policy of the Republic of Moldova."

The document reads that "the Socialist Unity faction, which unites the deputies of the Socialist and Communist Parties and the Unity Movement, have promulgated their statement concerning the Russian State Duma's resolution about the Dniester problem. In their statement, the Socialist Unity deputies are justifying the Duma's encroachment on the Moldovan sovereignty. By biassedly picturing the recent years' events, by emphasizing only the peacekeeping role of the Russian Federation in the Dniester dispute, and by not mentioning the Russian 14th Army's interference into the armed conflict, which only led to its escalation, the Socialist Unity faction is thus sharing the position of the anti-constitutional Tiraspol regime," the PRCM statement concludes. The document points out that the faction "is deliberately and ungroundedly lays the responsibility for negotiation freezing solely on the Moldovan leadership. The role assumed by the statement authors could be ignored should it stem from any out-of-Parliament party. But as they represent a faction in the parliamentary majority, then all political forces need to voice their strict and clear-cut appraisal of the move — first and foremost by the Agrarian Democratic Party [PDAM] which has chosen the Socialist Unity as its main political partner. If PDAM deputies consider it possible to preserve the governing alliance with a faction which, in fact, represents the interests of another state, then they have to state this openly. Silence or clumsy attempts to defend the partners may only provoke voters' indignation, and will mislead the world public opinion concerning the official stance of the Moldovan Parliament," reads the PDAM statement.

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Kazakhstan

Prime Minister Comments on Recent Visit to Britain

LD2511094795 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An official visit to Great Britain by Kazakhstan's Prime Minister Akezhan Qazhygeldin has ended. Here is a report by our special correspondent Erlan Bekkhozhin.

[Begin recording] [Bekkhozhin] [passage omitted]

A wide range of issues relating to bilateral relations were touched upon during the conversation between Prime Minister Akezhan Qazhygeldin and John Major. At the request of the British prime minister, Akezhan Qazhygeldin told him in detail about his meetings during the visit, as well as about the latest steps taken by the president and Government of Kazakhstan in the sphere of economic reform. John Major said that Great Britain is ready for closer cooperation with Kazakhstan, including investing not just in the oil and gas sector, but also other branches of Kazakhstan's economy. Akezhan Qazhygeldin and John Major signed an agreement on protecting investments.

Summing up the results of his visit, in an exclusive interview to the Khabar program, the Kazakh prime minister said:

[Qazhygeldin] Our visit is the logical continuation of the previous two state visits in 1991 and 1994 by President Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, when major political agreements were reached and signed. Our visit mostly pursued tactical aims. We discussed the details of implementing those agreements which have already been concluded, we discussed mechanisms and possible ways and means of carrying out those agreements. Both you and I have had a tense few days.

We only managed two humanitarian missions — one should never forget about these things either. The first was a seminar at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development on how to develop business in Kazakhstan. The second was a conference-seminar, which took place yesterday at the Institute of International Relations, on Kazakhstan's geopolitical situation, and on how society is developing in Kazakhstan.

The main aims were to visit the European Bank and discuss four main projects for 1996 and the years to come, including 22 previous projects. We got an agreement from the European Bank — you heard yourself — it was a straight statement about funding 22 projects worth a total of 1.4 billion ECU. Apart from this, we achieved agreement in principle on four additional projects: the construction of an external and an internal pipeline, the reconstruction of the port of Aktau, and recapitalization of the Alem Bank, worth over $2 billion. Therefore, I can say without any doubt that we achieved our set aims. [passage omitted: correspondent says Kazakhstan has been recognized by the world; cooperation is going ahead] [end recording]

Envoy to EU on Domestic, International Issues

MM2711110095 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 5

[Interview with A.M. Kyrbasov, Kazakhstani ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Benelux countries and head of the Kazakhstani mission to the European Union, by Nikita Shevtsov in Brussels; date not given: "Kazakhstan: Time of Important Decisions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shevtsov] Auyeskhan Makatayevich, it is now four years since the independent Republic of Kazakhstan was formed. How do you assess your country's place in the modern world today?

[Kyrbasov] These have been years of hard work for the Kazakhstani diplomatic service to implement the state's foreign policy course in practice, and I can say today that the first phase of its formation is over.

In this period considerable work has been done to create favorable external conditions for transformations within the country. At present the main task facing our diplomacy — ensuring external security and obtaining guarantees from the world's leading countries — can be considered to have been accomplished. Kazakhstan's signing of the START Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol and its accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty have all helped to boost its international authority. The conclusion with the United States of the Charter on Democratic Partnership and the receipt of security guarantees from the United States, Russia, Britain, and the PRC have strengthened our country's sovereignty and security and ensured territorial integrity and the inviolability of our borders.

Kazakhstan is now a full-fledged member of the world community and its international organizations, including the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Kazakhstani diplomacy has done a great deal of work to implement President N.A. Nazarbayev's initiative for the convocation of a Conference on Cooperation and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia.

While developing relations with international organizations, the republic is at the same time cooperating

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successfully with individual countries, primarily Russia, the United States, and China. Thus, early this year Kazakhstan concluded 16 agreements with Russia encompassing various aspects of our legal, political, and economic relations.

An agreement has been signed regarding the creation of a Customs Union with Russia and the Republic of Belarus, which is important for the formation of the single economic area that Kazakhstan has been consistently advocating.

[Shevtsov] Is the domestic situation in Kazakhstan affecting the establishment of the country's international authority?

[Kyrbasov] Of course. The implementation of economic reforms is having an extremely important effect on the development of the republic's foreign policy ties. I must say that the period 1992- 1993 was difficult. Reforms were not implemented as successfully as we would have liked. But in 1994 with the formation of a new government positive changes began to be seen. Inflation began to fall considerably and the economic situation stabilized. We realized that our efforts at reform had paid off. Our foreign partners began to see this too and announced their interest in intensively developing relations with Kazakhstan.

Our international positions are also affected by the political changes within the country. Thus, a new Constitution was adopted 30 August as a result of a national referendum and somewhat earlier, 30 April, the powers of the Kazakhstani president were extended through the year 2000. Next month elections to the bicameral parliament will be held. All this creates the conditions for more in-depth political and economic reforms.

[Shevtsov] Could you tell us about the activity of the Kazakhstani Embassy in Belgium?

[Kyrbasov] Our embassy opened in Belgium comparatively recently. But in its existence several treaties have been prepared and concluded. They include the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation Between Kazakhstan and the European Union [EU]. This is the most important international agreement that our country has ever concluded. It was signed on the Kazakhstani side by President N. Nazarbayev 24 January 1995. It comprises 101 articles on the most varied issues of international relations and lays a legal foundation for cooperation not only with the EU but also with all this organization's member countries individually. It can be said to be a model for the formulation of other foreign economic documents since it meets all international requirements. Along with the EU leadership it was signed by the foreign ministers of the states represented therein.

Having concluded cooperation treaties with all of them, we are now moving on to the next stage — the signing of sectoral agreements. This primarily concerns the textile trade with the EU, trade in nuclear materials with Euratom, and shipments of coal, steel, and other output.

The Agreement is unique in that it is a political and economic treaty and along with economic cooperation envisages the possibility of political dialogue with the EU and its member countries.

What is more, the Agreement establishes cooperation between Kazakhstan's legislative bodies and the European Parliament.

The treaty with the EU has taken a step forward compared with similar agreements that the EU concluded previously with Russia and Ukraine. It enshrines the idea that our firms and enterprises are given national treatment [natsionalnyye rezhimy], that is, they enjoy the same rights in the West as their local partners. In turn Western companies in Kazakhstan are vested with the same rights as our firms. This compels us to bring our legislation into line with international legislation.

I can also point out such differences as the lifting of restrictions on the quantity of goods, cooperation in fighting crime and drugs, the creation of a common credit area, processing of raw materials, etc.

I do not think that we are fully aware yet of the importance of this agreement. I think that greater understanding will come as it is put into effect. Thus the agreements being prepared for conclusion with Belgium on investment protection and avoidance of dual taxation enable this country's companies to invest money without fear in our economy. Thus, the major Belgian industrial group Tractebel has decided to invest $500 million in the construction of two thermal electric power stations in Uralsk and Altyray. And its subsidiary Tractebel Engineering intends to invest $50 million for the construction of a battery plant in Ust-Kamenogorsk. I am also bound to mention that the Belgian subsidiary of the international company Lavalen has decided to invest $400 million in the construction of a gas processing plant in Zhanazhol. Thus it looks as though Belgian companies alone intend to invest around $1 billion in our economy in the near future, which would hardly be possible without the conclusion of the base agreement with the EU.

Whereas the agreement on investment protection and avoidance of dual taxation with Belgium is only just being drafted, one has already been prepared for signing with the Netherlands. It is appropriate here to note Netherlands firms vigorous work in Kazakhstan. Thus,

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a Netherlands-Kazakhstani trade center has been set up within whose framework ties are developing with a view to introducing advanced technologies in our country's economy and modern equipment is being shipped to Kazakhstan. A joint bank has been set up with the major Netherlands bank AMRO-ABN, which is in particular funding various projects, including trade operations.

But, needless to say, I am also bound to mention certain difficulties present in relations with the EU. Thus, the dissolution of the parliament as a result of the Kazakhstani Constitutional Court ruling could have some effect on the date of ratification of the Kazakhstani-EU Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation because people in the EU think that this will only be possible once the republic has elected a new parliament.

[Shevtsov] How are relations developing between your embassy and other CIS countries' diplomatic missions in Belgium?

[Kyrbasov] First and foremost you must understand that because of their historical and economic ties our countries are very dependent on one another. Let us remember our involvement in the Great Patriotic War. That is obviously why during the year of the 50th anniversary of the defeat of fascism the embassies of all the countries that once formed part of the USSR jointly laid wreathes at the tombs of our soldiers who gave their lives in the fight against nazism. The CIS countries' embassies also held a joint reception to mark the 50th anniversary of our common victory.

Take this example. Recently the heads of the CIS missions represented on the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] discussed the question of CIS representation in this organization. After all the West European union has its representative there, so why should our international community not have one? This meeting discussed matters pertaining to joint cultural and arts events.

I also think it extremely important to note the need for EU technical and humanitarian aid and projects within the framework of the Technical Assistance for the CIS program should be designed not for one CIS country but for several CIS countries at once. For instance, aid in improving the Aral Sea situation should be sent to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which would enable us to pool our efforts since it is extremely hard to resolve this problem alone. The same can be said about the TRASEKA [name as transliterated] project, which envisages the creation of transport routes to Central Asia via the Caucasus.

The relevant CIS countries should espouse a common stance on the project that is being elaborated for the transportation of oil and gas from Central Asia to Europe. We must obviously pool our efforts in order to implement this idea, using it both in common interests and in the interests of the individual states.

[Shevtsov] Could you tell us about Kazakhstan's relations with NATO?

[Kyrbasov] Kazakhstan is a member of the NACC. We backed the "Partnership for Peace" initiative submitted by the NATO heads of state and government. This foreign policy document is the logical result of our accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. We have thus received additional guarantees of Kazakhstan's security and stability from the NATO states.

Accession to the "Partnership for Peace" program opens up extensive prospects for military-political, economic, and technical cooperation with NATO and other North Atlantic structures. That is, there is a fresh incentive for the further development of economic reforms and the transition to a market economy and the formation of a rule-of-law state.

After the Cold War ended the NATO bloc dramatically changed its policy. It is now actively promoting the creation and training of national armies. This should not be considered direct military influence — these efforts are rather aimed at ensuring that armies come under the control of society and the parliament. What is more, the "Partnership" concept presupposes cooperation in the sphere of military-industrial complex conversion, collaboration in emergencies, catastrophes, natural disasters, etc.

The Defense and Foreign Ministries are currently preparing a separate program for Kazakhstan-NATO cooperation within the framework of Partnership for Peace, where all the above areas of cooperation will be taken into consideration.

[Shevtsov] How is the embassy's consular service working?

[Kyrbasov] It has already been issuing visas and legalizing documents — confirming their authenticity — for 18 months now. We issue visas not only to citizens of the Benelux countries but also to those of other EU member states where Kazakhstan does not have embassies.

I must say that more and more people want to come to Kazakhstan. Compared with last year the number has almost doubled. The number of EU, European Parliament, and NATO personnel visiting Kazakhstan is on the increase. There are more and more businessmen and keen hunters coming to our country.

[Shevtsov] What is your opinion of the situation in Russia?

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[Kyrbasov] This may sound strange but I think that we are more concerned about political stability in Russia than the Russians themselves. Any serious upheaval in your country could have an immediate impact on the situation in Kazakhstan and the other CIS countries, and on world politics and the economy as a whole. Therefore we are keeping an attentive eye on what is going on in Russia and wish it success in its efforts at democratic transformation.

Kyrgyzstan

INTERFAX Exclusive Interviews Akayev

LD2311001095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 22 Nov 95

["Exclusive" report]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

AKAYEV: NEXT FIVE YEARS WILL BE CRUCIAL TO KYRGYZSTAN

The Kyrgyz parliament last September voted for holding a presidential election on December 24 1995. The lawmakers believe that President Askar Akayev made a "wise decision," when he accepted the idea of holding the elections this year, because "the current social and political situation in the country requires this."

Akayev was elected President in October 1990 at the session of the republican Supreme Soviet. In 1991 his presidential powers were confirmed in a nationwide election. The original intention was to hold the election of the head of state in October 1996, when the incumbent's powers expire under the constitution. However, Akayev counts his term of office from 1990 and wants an election this year.

An Interfax correspondent met with President Akayev to ask him about his election platform and concept of Kyrgyzstan's development.

IF: What is you idea of the strategy of Kyrgyzstan's development?

AKAYEV: The next five years will be crucial. Kyrgyzstan will either enter the group of economically advanced countries or remain backward. I am certain that Kyrgyzstan must and can enter the world market. My country has every chance to become a newly-industrialized nation. The worst phase of the economic crisis is over and we can now start the second phase of economic reform.

IF: How do you see the first five years of your presidency?

AKAYEV: The first phase of reforms I launched is over. Political and economic changes have become irreversible. The basis has been laid for the country's economic development.

New institutions have emerged - a two-house parliament and judicial bodies. There is the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the freedom of conscience. A multi-party system is taking shape.

Conditions have been created for the development of all types of enterprise, including private enterprise. The country has its own stable currency. Inflation is low and macro-economic stabilization has been achieved.

The unity of the people and inter-ethnic accord have been preserved and to my mind this is the most important result of the first phase of reforms.

At the same time both the president and the government made a number of mistakes. The first phase of reforms took too much time. In many cases political intrigues made themselves felt, permissiveness has increased and the government's influence weakened. This is chiefly to blame for the waste of time.

IF: What are the basic ideas of your election platform?

AKAYEV: I am certain that in the next three years the economy will grow steadily. We are to carry out a new industrial policy and to restructure production.

This program envisages support for the priority industries and the bankruptcy of those enterprises which operate at a loss. Priority must be attached to manufacturing those goods which would phase out imports, as well as export articles and to developing research-intense industries.

I believe that arms manufacturing, mining and ore dressing enterprises may prove most effective, for instance the extraction of gold, and rare earth and non-ferrous metals. The textile industry, hydro power plants, electric engineering and microelectronics will be Kyrgyzstan's priorities, too.

The implementation of projects in these industries may create 100,000-150,000 new jobs and ensure investments in other spheres of the economy within several years.

Kyrgyzstan's internal sources of financing are rather limited. Only foreign credits and private investors may accelerate economic growth.

In agriculture I am going to start a three-year program to support reforms in the agrarian sector. The money to fund the program is available already - 500 million soms (about $100 million). Another $240 million will be furnished by foreign investors.

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If I am elected for a second term, I shall conduct an active policy to protect the low-paid groups of the population. I see greater support for retirees, war veterans and veteran workers as one of my main duties. Currently Kyrgyzstan spends 55 percent of its budget on social needs, more than any other member-country of the CIS. One must remember that in Kyrgyzstan the demographic situation is rather complicated: 40 percent of the population are children under 16 and 15 percent are pensioners.

It will be necessary to continue support for the nation's health and education. World standards must be achieved in personnel training. I shall propose declaring 1996 as education year to fully reorganize school and college education. All schools in Kyrgyzstan must be computerized.

The struggle against crime, in the first place, organized crime is vital. Law enforcement and courts will have to be reformed and outdated legislation revised.

An administrative reform is a priority. Its chief aim will be to fully eliminate what is left of the centralized system of management by decree.

The list of government's duties will have to be changed, too. The government must play the role of coordinator, dedicate itself entirely to effectively using foreign investments and credits and not waste efforts on what can well be done by regions and local administrations. The functions of government ministries must be specified and some of them abolished.

I am for decentralization and for more freedom to the regions. Bodies of local self-government must be reformed and their relationship with the central government described more clearly. Without decentralization we shall be unable to speed up the comprehensive introduction of market relations.

IF: Just recently you said that political struggle must be brought to an end in 1996 and all efforts focused on the economy. Is that possible?

AKAYEV: I believe there is every chance to focus politicians' efforts on the economic front, because all branches of power are working effectively enough. Political struggle will go on, of course. I believe that the factor of time will play the decisive role. I am quite certain that political emotions will eventually subside.

The president's main job is to coordinate the operation of all branches of power, to keep them in balance and to promote their effective cooperation and constructive criticism. I am certain that the opposition helps correct our policies. Our main aim next year will be to pool efforts by all three branches of power in order to promote an economic upturn and foster the nation's unity. I am pretty certain that stable economic growth will begin in three years at the latest.

IF: Aren't you worried by the fact that most of your political opponents have gathered in parliament?

AKAYEV: No, not at all. I am even glad about this. It is very good that my opponents have gathered in one place. is much easier to have constructive arguments with them.

When I addressed the legislative assembly to explain my vision of strategic objectives and proposed holding the presidential election in 1995, even my strongest opponents supported me. They had nothing to counter my arguments with. That the opposition has gathered in parliament suits me well. I won't have to persuade my opponents one by one to support my policies.

IF: Is it good or bad that you are approaching a presidential election without support from a political party?

AKAYEV: I believe, it is good. We are beginning to form a civic society. Elections will be democratic and contested. I am conducting my election campaign with reliance on a wide alliance of public forces. I avoided seeking support from a political party in order to help bring about a free civic society. Public organizations and associations must have a chance to feel their role in the country's life.

A multi-party system is emerging in Kyrgyzstan. I hope the day will come when elections will be held on a party basis. Now it is more important to place the emphasis on social forces, on civic society.

IF: Will you take part in political debates with other candidates?

AKAYEV: I cannot give an unambiguous answer to this question. I am always prepared for debates with the opposition, with any public organizations and parties. But I believe that live televised debates make sense in those countries where there is a two-party system, for instance, the United States. In Kyrgyzstan, where there are dozen contenders for the presidency, live debates on television are useless. There will be a mess.

IF: Couldn't you explain how you understand the idea of a "new edifice of security in Central Asia?"

AKAYEV: In relations among Central Asian countries there are many disputes. By the end of this century Central Asian countries must devise a new system of security and stability in the region.

Borders and the distribution of water resources are the worst controversies. If preventive measures fail to be

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taken, if those disputes are not resolved in time, they may lead to confrontations and even conflicts between Central Asian countries.

I believe that we must lay down at once such principles of a future system of Central Asian security as respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inviolability of borders. Any attempts to redraw borders will not benefit any of the Central Asian countries. On the contrary, they would trigger conflicts and bloodshed.

Bishkek believes that Central Asian countries must pool efforts to seek progress and prosperity, because a separate country in the region will fail to achieve success. Ties with neighbors are too close. I am saying sincerely that Kyrgyzstan wishes to have prospering neighbors. If our neighbors are doing well, we shall be doing no worse.

However, for this Central Asian countries must give up territorial claims to each other and lift artificial economic barriers.

Problems in bilateral relations must be resolved. Take Bishkek's relations with Dushanbe. We haven't signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation yet. The main reason is that Tajikistan lays territorial claims to Kyrgyzstan. This is unwise.

Bishkek is certain that if a person or a country is in distress, it's no use lecturing him how to help oneself. A helping hand must be extended. Kyrgyzstan was one of the first CIS countries to provide its battalion to guard Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan, a common border of the CIS.

Although Kyrgyzstan's economic situation is not an easy one, my country extends humanitarian assistance to Tajikistan's autonomy of Gorny Badakhshan using the road from Osh to Khorog. As a matter of fact this is the sole traffic artery to deliver supplies to people in the Pamir area of Tajikistan. It also brings supplies to troops from Russia, Kyrgyzstan and other CIS forces guarding the border.

Kyrgyzstan itself can lay territorial claims to Tajikistan. Kyrgyz people lived in the Pamir and Alai from time immemorial. The current border separating the two countries was drawn in 1924 unfairly. The effects of that decision are still felt. Kyrgyzstan may well put forward other counter-demands to Dushanbe, but it strictly observes the principles of territorial integrity and respect for existing borders.

Tajikistan

UN Warns Opposition Against Massing Forces on Border

LD2411175095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 24 (Interfax) — The chief media spokesman for the Russian Border Guards Service said on Friday Tajik opposition guerrillas had in the last few days begun amassing forces on the Afghan side of the Tajik-Afghan border.

The guerrilla forces, brought by the Islamic Renaissance Movement of Tajikistan from internal regions of Afghanistan, are being grouped opposite Tajikistan's Shuroabad area, Col. Sergey Ivanchenko, head of the border guard press service, told Interfax.

He said the border guards possessed intelligence that the opposition command was preparing several operations against Russian border guards stationed on the Tajik-Afghan border to enable several guerrilla groups to cross into Tajikistan.

Sources in Dushanbe told Interfax the head of a team of U.N. military observers in Tajikistan, Brig. Gen Abaza, on Thursday sent an official letter to the opposition leadership, warning it against building up forces on the Tajik-Afghan border and attacking Russian guards.

Russian Envoy Hopeful For Compromise Between Tajik Sides

LD2411193895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1825 GMT 24 Nov 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tajikistan's authorities will maintain a dialogue with the opposition in Ashgabat on November 30 from strong enough positions, Russian presidential advisor on foreign policy Dmitriy Ryurikov told Interfax in Dushanbe Thursday.

"The opposition is not a warring side by definition of international law, and the two sides will compromise in the course of the talks," he suggested.

Ryurikov referred to a statement by Tajik rebel leaders Akbar Turadzhonzoda and Otakhon Latifi, with whom he had met in Ashgabat two days ago. According to Ryurikov, the opposition is confident that a military solution to the Tajik internal conflict does not exist.

"The general situation in Tajikistan is now complicated, but it has its own specific features," Ryurikov said,

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describing as "very promising" the fact that "all of the republic's power ministries are acting in a single direction, bringing about order and ensuring legality."

"There are very serious moves in this field," he added.

Ryurikov said he had discussed Russia's possible economic assistance to Tajikistan at his meetings with the Tajik leadership.

Ryurikov and Turkmen Foreign Minister Boris Shikhmuradov visited 12th post of the Moskovskiy border regiment and left Dushanbe for Ashgabat Thursday evening.

Opposition Hopes For Less 'One-Sided' Russian Support

LD2611103295 Tehran IRNA in English 0720 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 26, IRNA — Reduced foreign influence and Russian presence may increase the chances of success of the peace talks in Tajikistan, said Akbar Turajonzada, the number two man in charge of Tajikistan's Islamic Movement (TIM).

Speaking to the English-language daily IRAN NEWS published Sunday, he said, "we are not anti-Russian and are willing to have favorable and friendly economic and cultural ties with Moscow in the near future. Meanwhile, we hope that Russia will reconsider its one-sided support of Rakhmanov's government and will extend a hand of friendship towards all the people in Tajikistan."

He stressed that TIM has attempted to have direct or indirect negotiations with the presidents of the republics in the region including Russia, adding, "we are trying to convince them that the Russian Foreign Ministry should be neutral in its relations with Tajikistan."

The fifth round of peace talks between the Tajik Government and the opposition was not the last, Turajonzada noted, as he said there is no time limit in peace negotiations. Matters pertaining to the political and military share of foreign countries and international organizations will be tackled first in the peace process before peace in Tajikistan will be discussed.

"Of course, there is no real hope for immediate peace in Tajikistan," the TIM deputy commander remarked, although he added the future does not look hopeless either, as during several years of independence, Tajik rulers have confessed that they cannot bring peace and stability to the nation singlehandedly.

Commenting on Iran's role in the peace negotiations, he acknowledged the willingness of the Islamic republic to work for peace in Tajikistan, adding that Iran has really endeavored towards that end and has always tried to exercise a neutral policy in that direction.

He stated the Dushanbe government must know that should it fail to bring about peace, it will face pressure from the regional countries and international institutions.

It is necessary for these countries and institutions to adopt a stronger position towards the Tajik Government, IRAN NEWS quoted Turajonzada as saying.

The Ashgabat peace negotiations, which will commence on November 30, will be attended by Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Russia, the Security Council, the European Union and the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), IRAN NEWS wrote.

Representatives from Tajikistan's Government and its opposition have so far held four conferences in Tehran, Moscow and Islamabad. The fourth conference on July 19, the venue of which was again in Tehran, was attended by Iran's President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

A six-month cease-fire agreement was reached at that round of negotiations. The fifth round which was scheduled to be held last September, is delayed for 3 months due to disagreement over the location of the conference.

Nazarov, Iran's Va'ezi Discuss Peace Moves, Ties

LD2511195195 Tehran IRNA in English 1931 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, Nov. 25, IRNA — Tajik Foreign Minister Talbak Nazarov on Saturday showed his appreciation on the Iranian peace efforts in Tajikistan.

In a meeting with the visiting Iranian deputy foreign minister for Euro-American affairs, Mahmud Va'ezi, Nazarov lauded Iranian role as important in helping resolve the crisis in the republic.

Tajik foreign minister said the accord signed by President Emomali Rakhmanov of Tajikistan and the leader of Tajik opposition, Abdallah Nuri has served as a basis in the forthcoming fifth round of peace talks due to be held in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan.

Va'ezi said Iran has given the issue a top priority for an immediate settlement of the crisis in Tajikistan, adding that Iran will go on its mediation plan to achieve that end.

Va'ezi hoped that the two sides would exercise more flexibility and honor the interest of the Muslim nation of Tajikistan.

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The two offfcials in the meantime emphasized the need for expansion of political, economic and cultural relations between Iran and Tajikistan.

Turkmenistan

Iranian Military Delegation Arrives for Visit

LD2211194495 Ashgabat TURKMEN PRESS in Russian 1642 GMT 21 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ashgabat, 21 Nov (TURKMEN PRESS) — A Ministry of Defense delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran has arrived in Ashgabat on an official visit at the invitation of the Turkmen Government. According to the Turkmen Defense Ministry press service, this first visit by the Iranian military is concrete implementation of accords concluded earlier between President Saparmurad Turkmenbashy [Niyazov] of Turkmenistan and President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran, which are aimed at developing bilateral cooperation. Its aim is to establish friendly contacts, to determine spheres of military cooperation between the two neighboring countries, and to coordinate joint efforts to turn the state border into a border of friendship between the peoples of Turkmenistan and Iran.

The Iranian military delegation, headed by Lieutenant General A. Heydari [name as received], was received at the Cabinet of Ministers and at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense. The Iranian guests visited some military units, military installations, training areas, and border guard units. They also visited educational classes, laboratories, and training areas of the military institute.

It was underlined during the meetings and talks that contacts between the Turkmen and Iranian military will promote the further implementation of the intergovernmental accords on the comprehensive [?opening up] of friendly relations between the two neighboring states.

Defense Ministry on Results of Visit

LD2411004595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1614 GMT 23 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Lukin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ashgabat, 23 Nov — During a visit to Turkmenistan by an Iranian Defense Ministry delegation, Iranian and Turkmen military representatives agreed to work actively to preserve peace and stability in the Central Asian region. The delegation was led by Lieutenant General Asadollah Heydari, a representative of the general staff of Iran's Armed Forces.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by the Turkmen Defense Ministry's press service that this first visit to Turkmenistan by the Iranian military was a concrete implementation of the memorandum on military cooperation between Turkmenistan and Iran which was signed in January 1994 by the presidents of the two states. The purpose of the visit, which took place from 19 to 23 November, was to decide on priority areas for cooperation. It is proposed that these will be the exchange of experience in the construction and development of armed forces, the exchange of military delegations, and participation in joint undertakings, including exercises, construction, and overhauling, and the organization of recreation and treatment of personnel.

Cooperation between border troops is also specified as a priority in bilateral cooperation, since the two neighboring states have a common 1,700-km border. Striving to turn it into a border of friendship the sides have agreed by their joint efforts to stop any attempted border violations. Iran's military specialists, after visiting Turkmen border units, gave a high appraisal of the existing engineering and technical facilities.

The planned cooperation priorities, the Turkmen Defense Ministry's press service noted, in no way affects the interests of third countries. Turkmenistan's Armed Forces strictly adhere to the military doctrine proclaimed by the president, which is defensive in character.

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Azerbaijan

Second Round of Parliamentary Elections Declared Valid

LD2611185595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1805 GMT 26 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayev and Victor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 26 Nov — The second round of the parliamentary elections in Azerbaijan can be considered to have taken place. According to data from the Republic's Central Electoral Commission, 55.2 percent of the electorate — or about 500,000 citizens — have voted by 2030 Moscow time [1730 GMT].

Rasul Guliyev Elected Speaker of New Parliament

NC2411182295 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A new phase is beginning in Azerbaijan's social and political life. The first session of the first parliament of our Republic, which declared its independence and is trying to occupy its rightful place in the international community, convened today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The first session of the Azerbaijani Milli Mejlis [National Assembly] convened today. In the opening session, Jafar Veliyev, the chairman of the Republic's election commission, proposed that Independent Deputy Anar Rasuloglu Rzayev chair the session. With a majority of the votes, the deputies empowered writer Rzayev to chair the first session of the National Assembly.

Rzayev called Jafar Veliyev to the podium to brief the session on the election and referendum results on the Constitution held in the Republic.

Veliyev delivered the commission's report on the first ever democratically held referendum on the Constitution and elections. He noted that the active participation of our people in this first ever important event in the history of independent Azerbaijan showed that Azerbaijan gives priority to the path of democratic development and aims to travel along this path.

Next, a proposal was put forward to set up a five-member Mandate Commission. Following discussions, the proposal was put to vote and approved.

Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev addressed the first session of the first meeting of the Azerbaijani National Assembly. He assessed this historic event of high importance in the life of the Azerbaijani people and in the history of our state. He specifically noted the importance of the approval of the draft constitution by referendum. He expressed the conviction that the approved new draft constitution will play a significant role in our people's life, in the development of our statehood, and in the deepening of the democratic processes in Azerbaijan.

[Aliyev] I think the newly elected parliament is one that represents and reflects Azerbaijan and our people's intellectual, cultural, and spiritual status and wealth. We can only take pride in such a parliament. The parliament includes renowned, respected, honored, and intellectual sons of Azerbaijan. Given this situation, the parliament's work will certainly be productive, and I think that its legislation will conform with the Constitution and the principles of democracy which is the path we have chosen.

[Unidentified correspondent] After the recess, the Chairman of the Mandate Commission Arif Rehimzade addressed the session and the prepared draft resolution was published. Anar Rizayev, who was chairing the session, put the proposal on the jurisdiction of the Mandate Commission to voting. The proposal was adopted with a majority of votes.

The Deputies Murtuz Aleskerov and Yusuf Semedoglu proposed the election of the new chairman of the National Assembly. They proposed Rasul Bayramoglu Guliyev to this post. No other candidates were put forward.

A seven-member Tellers Commission was set up to conduct the secret voting. After establishing its first protocol, the commission began work. Commission member, Shahiddin Aliyev called on all deputies to take part in the secret voting. At the conclusion of the voting, the box was opened before the deputies. After the members of the commission prepared the second protocol, Yashar Aliyev, chairman of the Tellers Commission, informed the deputies of the secret voting results. It was announced that of the 87 deputies who took part in the secret ballot, 84 voted in favor of Rasul Bayramoglu Guliyev. Thus, Rasul Guliyev was elected chairman of the National Assembly. [end recording]

Georgia

Shevardnadze Delivers Inauguration Speech

LD2611183695 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 26 Nov 95

[Inauguration speech by President Eduard Shevardnadze in Tbilisi — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear compatriots and esteemed foreign guests. It is a historic day in Georgia today, but it is not linked to the name of a single person. This ceremony celebrates Georgia's statehood and the

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introduction of Georgia's Constitution. This is a festival of Georgia's sovereignty, independence, democracy, and freedom. Not only is this a festival of today's Georgia but it is a festival of the Georgia of Parnavaz, Vakhtang Gorgasali, Bagrat III, Davit the Builder, Tamar, Giorgi the Brilliant, and Erekle II [past Georgian leaders]. Although the flow of political times have often been broken by one or another orientation, the bonds between various epochs are unbreakable. Before coming here and taking a stand at this podium today, I went to Mtatsminda [pantheon of prominent Georgian public figures] together with my friends. This will probably become a traditional ritual in the future, a civic and political ritual because this shows that not only does the president represent the existing executive authority and not only is he the head of state, but also objectively he is a symbol and a guarantor of the bonds between historical epochs of the country.

I paid my respect to great fathers of the nation who rest at Mtatsminda beside the greatest Georgian of all times, Ilia Chavchavadze, St Ilia the Virtuous. The festivities in Svetitskhoveli [cathedral in Mtskheta, ancient Georgian capital] with the participation of the Georgian catholikos-patriarch, most Sacred and Serene Ilia II, and with a ritual visit by the president carry a great divine and historic meaning. This is the bringing of the president in proximity with God, or speaking to God about how to lead the people as great Ilia would say.

We have gathered today at the historic Rustaveli Street, in front of the Parliament and Presidential Palace. This is where the Georgian language was declared the state language in the 1970's and the Georgian people defended their mother tongue. This is where innocent blood of Georgian sons and daughters was shed on 9 April 1990. This is where the independence of Georgia was declared and a new era in the Georgian history began.

As you know, on 2 November I submitted to the people and the country an action program, which included principal outlines of implementing reforms, as well as long-term plans and forecasts for the political, economic, social, and cultural development of Georgia. I took that program to the election as to a general referendum and said that the outcome of the election would equal the outcome of a referendum on this program. During the election, the people approved the president's program and voted for it. The president's program speech in a brochure form was handed to you today.

The principal goal of the president and his authority is to replace the old totalitarian socioeconomic formation with a new socioeconomic system, to establish democracy and freedom. This principal idea and the goal have no alternatives. Not only does this course correspond to the historical thoughts and aims, but also proceeds from those. It is proved scientifically and theoretically in the program speech. I am well aware that the new Georgian Constitution is the tool and the basis for attaining this principal goal and that it is the president of the Republic who is the main guarantor of implementing and defending the Constitution.

I, personally, as the president and as a citizen will scrupulously abide by the Constitution as I have said in my oath. I shall make the best of the presidential power within the limits of the law to get all state and public structures, all political parties, and every citizen to abide by the norms and laws stipulated by the Constitution. Universally recognized civil and human rights and freedoms constitute supreme values and issues of everyday concern for me.

The human dimension is a supreme criterion of the state policy. In order that our country might prosper and in order that a new system might finally be established, three principal tasks must be fulfilled: A democratic state ruled by law should be built, a civic society should be established and the socially oriented market economy should be set up. To build a state ruled by law, it is necessary that at least three strategic goals be reached: Legislative power, that is a parliament of a new type and structure is to be established; the presidential power of a new type and structure should be formed; and the judicial authorities of a new type and structure should be created.

The new Constitution is in force now, my friends. It is of special significance that members of the former and present parliaments have gathered here today. I welcome them and wish them further success and victories. I welcome Zurab Zhvania, chairman of the Georgian Parliament. I do hope I shall have businesslike relations, cooperation, and partnership with him as well as with the whole Parliament. The Constitution's being in force now is confirmed by the fact that as a result of the presidential election, the president has been elected in accordance with the Constitution and a new type of executive power is being formed now, presidential power. This new type of executive power is being formed along with reformation and establishment of new forms of the future authorities of the subjects of the federation as well as the provincial, district, and municipal authorities. It is impossible to visualize the building of a law-governed state without the judicial authorities being established and functioning. A program of the president's relations with the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court will be submitted to the population. It is necessary be-

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cause, in accordance with the Constitution, the president and the Parliament play a crucial role in forming the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court.

The Army, border troops, police, internal troops, Security Service, judiciary bodies, Prosecutor's Office, and other "power" and law-enforcement agencies constitute the objects of the president's special concern, in view of the formation of a state ruled by law. The president's duty is also to secure their efficient functioning on the basis of the Constitution and law.

A presidential program on building Armed Forces and national security has been drawn up. Work on a military doctrine is being completed and will be submitted to the Parliament and the people. I greet our Armed Forces, generals, officers, and privates. I wish them success and victories. Our state, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Prosecutor's Office, Justice Ministry, and the healthy structures of the Security Service have dealt a serious blow to the criminal world, mafia, racketeers, bandits, and terrorism. The criminal situation has been significantly eased. The law-enforcement bodies have become stronger and the state is becoming stronger. I greet the law-enforcement bodies and thank the ministers, all officers, and public servants who have actively participated in these activities. The fight against criminal elements, and especially against corruption will grow more severe on the basis of the presidential program on maintaining order.

Surmounting ethnic conflicts and implementing the program for the restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity are matters of vital concern for the president. Thanks to our efforts, the Budapest summit of the member countries of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe unmasked Abkhaz separatists and denounced their policy of genocide and ethnic cleansing against the Georgian people. These findings have been recognized by the UN Security Council and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The fate of the 300,000 refugees must be decided urgently. Georgia's territorial integrity cannot be restored unless this issue is settled.

We have always stated and we are stating now that the time has come for Georgia's state structure to be shaped on a federal basis. Abkhazia will be a subject of the federation in Georgia with a broad political status. It will have its own constitution, which will have to be in conformity with the constitution of a single united state. The Republic of Abkhazia will have its own parliament, supreme court, anthem, state emblem, and other features of a state.

The return of the refugees to their homes and the determination of Abkhazia's political status are the tasks of the immediate future. We are prepared for any kind of dialogue at any level. We are prepared for bilateral talks.

The above also concerns the fundamental aspects of settling the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. We are offering the Ossetian side an active dialogue and guarantees for friendly and business-like discussions and a settlement of the acute problems.

Georgia welcomes efforts by the international community to settle the conflict in the Balkans. I believe the turn of the Caucasus has come. Abkhazia is the key for settling the Caucasus conflicts. I am positive that the United Nations and Russia will accomplish their profound and historic mission to establish peace and stability in the region.

The build-up of a law-governed state cannot be imagined without the problems of ethnic minorities being settled. The president's program, which is drawn up on the basis of the new Constitution, stipulates the security and protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of all ethnic, national, or language minorities. This is also proven by the ethnic representation at the new Parliament.

The president's program stipulates reliable protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, constructive relations with political parties and movements, as well as parliamentary or nonparliamentary opposition. It guarantees pluralism, freedom, and independence for the press, radio, television, and the mass media. The civic society is the people. The wisdom and the political prescience of the people laid the foundation for the election of the present president and Parliament.

Glory to the people of Georgia, who like biblical Job patiently endure the crisis and hardship and with heroic enthusiasm are building a happy future.

I would like to emphasize particularly that I am grateful to the electoral commissions, central and local; deputies' agents; and all the activists — there are thousands and thousands of those, my associates. I am grateful to the provincial and local administrations who secured model public order and security as well as normal conditions for holding democratic elections. The president's attention will focus on the culture, science, education, literature, and art of the civic society, of the whole nation as well as health service, sport, and tourism. I greet Georgia's intelligentsia, students, and youth. I wish them success and victories. Their problems are my problems.

Although the state is separated from the church and the church is separated from the state, the state and the church take care of the community jointly. May the

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Georgian church and the diocese have God's blessing. God is with us.

In light of the results already achieved in shaping the market economy, the wide-ranging rehabilitation of industry and improvement of the populations's standards of living are now on the agenda. We have to take care of mothers and children. In accordance with the president's economic course, the actual running of the market economy and the use of the method of social incentive in industry will help us surmount the fall in production and start an overall economic rise. Georgia will feel this as early as this winter. The first results of overcoming the energy crisis will be perceptible this winter. According to the program, the average annual pace of increase of major indices will reach 10-15 percent in the next five years. As a result, the gross domestic product will reach $3.0-3.5 billion.

In accordance with the president's agrarian program, the agro-industrial sector will develop rapidly.

The president's policy for social protection, which will be implemented on the basis of the state programs for social protection of the population, will secure normal conditions for the population. As for the salaries during the next two or three years, as for the degree of increase in the welfare of the population, I spoke about all these in my program speeches.

According to assessments made by experts, the proposed economic course creates grounds for qualitative changes in the social sphere in the next two or three years. Employment will increase and 500,000 new jobs will be created. This will result in the increase in the number of working people by 1 million. The unemployment figures will reach 5 percent, which is a normal rate. In the wake of the rise in the economy and budget revenues, the average salary of those involved in the state-run, budget establishments will increase to 200 lari, while the average salary of those working in other establishments, which are not funded from the budget, will reach 250-300 lari. By the end of the century, the minimum salaries and pensions will be higher than the essential consumer basket. The system of social protection will improve. Allowances will be issued purposefully to the especially poverty-stricken part of the population. With the assistance and support of international financial organizations, a complete reform of the health service, culture, science, and education will be carried out. By the year 2000, these spheres of social and spiritual life will function in full compliance with the developed market economy relations. The image of Georgia as an independent, sovereign, and democratic country on the international arena will become more profound in the next few years.

I am addressing all the residents of our planet, all the governments and heads of states to show more vigor in the struggle for democratic order in the new world, for security, for the stimulation of culture and economy in the developing countries and especially the sovereign countries that emerged within the post-Soviet territory, for the honorable integration of the newly independent countries into the world economy and the world community.

I have recently made a statement, which I would like to reiterate now. I am calling on the world community, primarily on the leaders of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, to plan jointly measures to eradicate terrorism, aggressive separatism, and extreme nationalism in the world. Forgiveness and conciliation toward these forces give incentive to terrorist and murderers to commit further crimes against humanity.

I am grateful to the presidents and heads of states of the world, our foreign friends, all the citizens of Georgia, and Georgian expatriates, who congratulated me on my election as president of Georgia. I am grateful to the foreign observers and journalists who arrived in Georgia during the elections and impartially assessed and covered the elections. I am grateful to the diplomatic corps accredited in Georgia, our foreign friends, all the foreign delegations and representatives, who honored us by congratulating us on the success in the elections and by attending today's ceremony, thus demonstrating their support and solidarity.

Ladies and gentlemen: A law-governed state, an open civic society, the socially oriented market economy, the renaissance of the spiritual and material culture of the nation, democracy, sovereignty, freedom, the supremacy of the Constitution and law — these are our main goals and tasks. I shall fight together with you for achieving these goals.

In the next five or 10 years, Georgia will become one of the most prosperous countries, both economically and culturally. This is the truth and this will really happen. We must have faith in this.

I wish long life to each of you. I wish happiness to your families. Let us toil together, side-by-side, selflessly for the well-being of our motherland, our people. Let us move forward toward the Georgia of the 21st century.

Thank you.

Parliament Elects Zurab Zhvania Chairman

LD2511140595 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Georgian 1220 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The newly elected Georgian Parliament convened for its first plenary meeting to-

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day. The meeting was chaired by Ivane Kighuradze, chairman of the Georgian Central Electoral Commission. [passage omitted]

The deputies heard a report by the Central Electoral Commission, presented by commission chairman Ivane Kighuradze. [passage omitted]

As a result of the elections by party lists, the Union of Citizens of Georgia has gained 90 seats in the parliament, the National-Democratic Party has gained 31 seats, and the Union of Georgia's Revival has gained 25 seats. In accordance with a resolution adopted earlier, 12 deputies from Abkhazia elected to the previous parliament have had their mandates renewed. [passage omitted]

The meeting heard a report by the chairman of the interim mandate commission, Roman Miminoshvili and passed a resolution approving the authority of 211 deputies elected on 5 November and 19 November by proportional as well as by first-past-the-post voting. In addition the authority of 12 deputies from Abkhazia has been approved. Altogether, there are 223 deputies in the Georgian Parliament at the moment. [passage omitted]

After the approval of the resolution presented by the interim mandate commission, the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia came into force. The Georgian national anthem was played.

By 156 votes, the general secretary of the Union of Citizens of Georgia, Zurab Zhvania, was elected as the chairman of the Georgian Parliament in accordance with the agenda.

The next sitting of the parliament will be held on 30 November.

Problem of Russian Bases Awaits Solution

MM2411162695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Vitaliy Denisov: "Our Bases in Georgia: To Be or Not To Be. No Way Will Final Decision on This Question Be Made in Tbilisi"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi — Vladimir Zemskiy, Russian Federation ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Tbilisi, and Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Ukleba have held a meeting in the Georgian capital during which they discussed the question of the temporary deployment of Russian combat equipment and weapons on Georgian territory. As is known, under the previously reached bilateral accord between the states, Russia can maintain 115 tanks, 160 armored personnel carriers and infantry fighting vehicles, and 170 artillery systems with a caliber in excess of 100 mm on the Republic of Georgia's territory. But the treaty has simply not been ratified, which is what pushed to the fore the solution of the temporary deployment question, which "did not wash" either. Zemskiy was notified of this by a representative of the Georgian foreign policy department. The problem, he noted, will be considered by President Eduard Shevardnadze after his inauguration ceremony, which is scheduled for 26 November.

What might happen next? Most likely the new Georgian parliament will submit for discussion the question of the stationing of Russian military bases on the republic's territory. This has already been stated repeatedly. According to the republic constitution adopted 29 August this year, after the head of state has made a decision on their temporary stationing, the supreme legislative organ of power must approve or reject the option proposed by the president within 48 hours. But this depends on whether the majority of parliamentarians will prove to be "westerners" oriented toward NATO or supporters of a military alliance with Russia. While experts from both countries are pondering the possible ways in which events will develop, in the next four months the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus will receive eight international inspections within the framework of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the 1994 Vienna Document on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures.

The way out of the prevailing situation is obvious: Yet another ordeal awaits Russia's geopolitical interests in the Transcaucasus. Now the decision of politicians (to a greater extent than the decision of the military) will determine the future not only of bilateral relations but also of the questions of peace, stability, and security in the coming decades.

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Estonia

President Meri Departs for Germany 25 Nov

WS2711140095 Tallinn ETA in English 0948 GMT 27 Nov 95

[From 25, 27 November SONUMILEHT, p 3; "News Bulletin" No. 234/95]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Monday, November 27 — President Lennart Meri left for Germany on Saturday, November 25, at the invitation of the German Bank. Meri will hold a lecture on Estonian economic reforms to representatives of the bank today. He will also meet the leading politicians of Bavaria.

Meri will present the Terra Mariana Cross to three staunch supporters of Estonia: Professor Boris Meissner, Doctor Bernd Nielsen-Stokkeby and Doctor Carl Gustaf Strohm.

The president will return to Tallinn on Tuesday, November 26. The visit was to have begun on Friday, November 24, but was postponed for a day because of the conflict between the Defence Ministry and the General Staff.

Meri Discusses Defense Issues With Vahi, Oovel

WS2711121895 Tallinn BNS in English 1803 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Nov 24, BNS — Estonian President Lennart Meri had Friday [24 November] a meeting with Prime Minister Tiit Vahi and Defense Minister Andrus Oovel to thrash out defense problems.

The meeting discussed topical questions of national defense, a spokesman for the president commented briefly.

Vahi and Oovel declined to comment on the meeting.

Oovel also refused to tell BNS when he was planning to meet with the defense forces commander, Lt. Gen. Aleksander Einseln.

Friday's issue of the Postimees daily quoted Oovel as saying he was going to meet with Einseln Friday morning.

Einseln's agenda for Friday did not include a meeting with the defense minister, officials at the general staff of the defense forces told BNS. Nor has a meeting between th two been planned for the next few days, they said.

A three-way meeting between Vahi, Oovel and Einseln the prime minister announced at the beginning of the week hasn't taken place, either.

The army chief and the defense minister have over the last couple of weeks repeatedly criticized one another's activity with regard to defense questions.

Tallinn Stands by Tartu Peace Treaty at Border Talks

LD2511210295 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 95

[From the "Aktuaalne Kaamera" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting between the delegations of the Estonian-Russian border talks, the problems relating to the recognition of the Tartu Peace Treaty remained unresolved, Raul Malk, the head of the Estonian delegation said.

In an interview for "Aktuaalne Kaamera," Malk said that Estonia will firmly stand by its position on recognition for the legal continuity and does not intend to give it up.

[Begin recording] [Malk, over the phone from Moscow] With the Tartu Peace Treaty the main issue is that of the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia for more than 70 years — and not for less than the last five years like the Russian side insists.

[Correspondent] If Russia is not prepared to acknowledge the Tartu Peace Treaty, does this mean the border agreement will not be concluded?

[Malk] As a matter of fact, different phrasings are possible, but in any case, it is currently quite clear in Estonia that no phrasing that damages the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia could be accepted.

[Correspondent] Vasiliy Svirin [the head of the Russian delegation] has said that the pressure from the Western states will force us to give up the demand that the Tartu Peace Treaty must be recognized.

[Malk] My contacts with very many leading diplomats of the Western states, some of them just yesterday, have confirmed that the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia is considered to be an important factor. In a situation where the sides have practically reached a general agreement on where the border could be, it has been said that the Estonian side has very seriously done its bit on the way toward the compromise once suggested by Former Prime Minister Andres Tarand, and they have asked: What has the other side done on its part? In this respect, I do not think Estonia is under any pressure. [end recording]

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Latvia

Stalemate Blocks Formation of New Government

LD2411161095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 24 Nov 95

[By Galina Kuchina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RIGA, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — The Latvian Sejm (parliament), which refused to endorse on Thursday, November 23, the new government formed by Leader of the National Bloc Maris Grinblats on behalf of President Guntis Ulmanis, has again forced the latter to decide whom to authorise to form the new Cabinet of Ministers. The president plans to hold new consultations with the parliamentary factions and to shortly nominate a new candidate to the post of prime minister.

The situation in this Baltic state has actually became as it was on November 7. The country has a new parliament, a government which has already resigned, but is still working, and a president, who is deciding whom to place at the helm of power. Only the state of the budget has changed. It now has a larger financial gap. Nothing is heard so far about the next year's budget.

The results of the November 23 elections were predictable because of the obvious balance of political forces. The National Radicals and the "Latvian Way", which has joined them, have set up a National Bloc. It won 47 seats in the parliament out of 100. The same number of seats went to the National Reconciliation Bloc, uniting the left-wing parties. There is one independent mp and also five socialists, whom nobody wants to accept, and they, too, do not want to join anybody. But precisely these five supporters of former Latvian Communist Party Leader Alfred Rubiks, who is now in jail, have decided the outcome of the Thursday voting.

Leader of the National Bloc Maris Grinblats, who was asked by the president to form a new Cabinet of Ministers, was only three votes short of getting the approval of the government he offered. The hopes he pinned on turncoats from the other camp did not materialise. Instead of the needed 51 votes, he got only 48.

There were no debates on the composition of the proposed government and no statements on its programme. Grinblats merely read out the names, many of which belonged to current ministers — members of the "Latvian Way". He also roughly outlined the principles of the future government's work. They envisaged Latvia's further efforts to join the European Union and NATO, to strengthen cooperation with the Baltic states and the northern countries. He also spoke about the attraction to Latvia of western banks and western energy sources, abolition of visas for citizens of northern countries, members of the European Union, the United States and Canada. Grinblats also stressed the need of "doing away with the consequences of occupation and colonisation".

One passage of the document was devoted to Russia: "By continuing the talks with Russia and resorting to versatile diplomacy, we shall be able to make it recognise the 1940 occupation and to ensure the liquidation of its consequences as regards the property rights of citizens, repatriation and territorial matters."

These principles were not discussed and Grinblats' proposals were put to the vote. The calm faces of the mps showed that everything was clear to them.

Now the second bloc is waiting for the president to turn his eyes towards it.

Lithuania

Vilnius To Send Peackeepers to Bosnia

LD2511195595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1219 GMT 25 Nov 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vilnius, 25 Nov — Lithuania intends to send its soldiers to Bosnia and Herzegovina to implement the peace accords achieved in Dayton (USA). National Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius confirmed on Friday that in the nearest future his department will "start the training of the Lithuanian peacekeepers for their mission as part of the NATO international forces in the territory of former Yugoslavia."

However, as he put it, "the formal decision to send one platoon to Bosnia must be reached by the Seimas and the Lithuanian government." Military experts and instructors from Denmark will help to train the Lithuanian soldiers for participation in the operation.

The Lithuanian peacekeepers are no novices in carrying out such missions in former Yugoslavian territory. One platoon of Lithuanian "blue helmets," which formed part of the Danish peacekeeping battalion and was replaced every six months, carried out peacekeeping operations there over a period of 18 months.

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